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THE ENGLISH REVIEW

Current Comments

APRIL, 1933

Banking and the World Crisis

THE banking crisis in the United States is of importance because it marks the first open revolt against the modern banking system, as it has been applied to the "solution" of post-war problems. It is a fundamental error to assume that the American banking system collapsed solely because of its inefficiency, or worse. No doubt personal, political and international factors contributed to the collapse, but the fundamental cause was the failure to realize in time that money derives its value as a commodity solely from the fact that it is a medium of exchange and that where a wide and sudden fall in the value of money has taken place, a currency must either lose its position as the medium of exchange or be regulated so as to restore the price level. In other words, the world has yet to learn, and the American crisis may help to teach the lesson, that the necessary consequence of a permanent fall in prices is repudiation. It is absurd to expect the bankers to teach this lesson to the politicians, but the politicians have got to follow Mr. Roosevelt's lead and teach it to the bankers. Naturally the bankers are reluctant to interfere with events which have doubled the value of the commodity in which they deal. The fact remains that a system which doubles the real amount of the capital indebtedness of two continents is bound to collapse, whether the bankers like it or not.

Why the Pre-war System Worked

THERE are those who point out the immense progress made during the last century when the gold standard was in operation. They forget that the Victorian

financial system worked solely because the gold supply was twice increased by large gold discoveries and because at the same time the dead weight of government indebtedness was being substantially decreased in all the important financial centres in relation to the total of capital assets. The world, since 1914, has seen these two essential conditions of the pre-war banking system not merely removed but reversed. For four years the production of real wealth was suddenly curtailed and even since 1918 political unrest leading to war and revolution have continued to restrict the normal increase in the world's capital assets. At the same time capital expenditure on non-consumable goods (both during the war and after) has reached heights unknown before in any civilization. Meanwhile there has been no fresh discovery of gold. The first and necessary result of these factors, when they were allowed free play, was a huge fall in the value of money, leading to a superstructure of credit too heavy for the existing gold basis. Instead of expanding the base the attempt was made to contract the superstructure. The world was pulled back to gold. The result was to enslave the world to the bankers. The attempt has failed in one continent at least; for the endeavours of the bankers to find a practical use for their swollen balances in lending to bankrupt farmers and industrialists at home, or abroad to the bankrupt countries of Central Europe were alike foredoomed to failure.

Mr. Keynes and the Crisis

TWO concrete suggestions have been made in *The Times* by Mr. J. M. Keynes for meeting this situation. The first is for a world issue of gold notes to be treated as equivalent to gold for the purpose of the world's gold reserves. In this way Mr. Keynes would reverse the fatal error made by this country among others in trying to adjust the superstructure to the old inadequate foundation instead of providing an adequate

foundation for the post-war superstructure. This is a salutary suggestion, in the sense that it can do no harm and might, if wisely applied, do good. But Mr. Keynes' supplementary proposal for a big programme of loan expenditure is far less happy. Economists can say what they like, but you cannot relieve yourself of a debt by borrowing from your creditors. Trade and industry are crippled by obligations direct and indirect which have been doubled in value by the fall in prices. It is elementary that a policy of loan expenditure, if sufficiently vast, will raise prices (though it is pertinent to enquire how soon and for how long), but in so far as the loans are sufficient to raise prices they will largely negative the effects of the increase by preserving an unsatisfactory ratio between the price level and the amount of our national and local indebtedness. As the *Economist* remarks, there is everything to be said for a policy of national investment, but the objects on which the Government could spend money—housing, health education, transport, are services which can only be productive in a country where trade, agriculture and manufacture are flourishing. Increased expenditure on education when there is no employment, on transport when there are no goods to carry, and on housing schemes when the constant expansion of the poverty area prevents the occupation of the houses (as has happened to those built under the Addison scheme) by those for whom they are intended—these things are fundamentally wrong. The first aim of social service must be the abolition of poverty. To do this you must restore trade and industry; you must not saddle it with new, but relieve it of old obligations.

Loan Expenditure and Industry

IT is necessary to make it clear that this doctrine demands no curtailment whatever of the social services, and is directed indeed at making practical their effective extension. Nor is it suggested that Mr. Keynes is any-

thing but correct in his prescription of the need for a programme of capital expenditure. Purchasing power must be increased and industry must be re-equipped. Neither of these two essentials, however, can be permanently secured by a *new* state programme of loan finance expenditure. Both can be secured by a measure of controlled inflation accompanied by a suspension of the sinking fund, the financing of *existing* state commitments for capital purposes by loan, and a reduction of taxation. In this way industry, stimulated by an increase in effective demand and simultaneously relieved of a portion of its liabilities, will be able itself to take advantage of the abundance of cheap money and to lay the foundation of a renewed prosperity, of higher wages, and of the return to a proper standard of life.

The German Revolution

THE progress of events in Germany during the past few weeks has been so rapid that it is impossible at this stage to pass anything in the nature of a considered judgment upon them, and the end is probably not yet. The Nazis constitute, owing to their novelty, a peculiarly incalculable factor, and that is why we publish, without sharing all his judgments, Mr. Tennant's article on Herr Hitler and his policy—the result of the close study of recent happenings in Germany by an independent observer who has exceptional opportunities of judging on the spot of the trend of events and the character of the men now directing them.

It remains to be seen whether Hitler is a real leader. That he is a master of rhetoric in a nation which does not excel in that art is freely admitted, but is it a case of *vox et praeterea nihil*? Revolutions have a habit of devouring their offspring, and there can be no shadow of doubt but that Göring and Goebbels are determined men who know what they want. Moreover, many observers do not share our contributor's view that Hitler is, even in his own party, in the position of Mussolini.

If he is not, a dictator who cannot dictate with any certainty of being obeyed may prove a danger rather than a solution.

Nazis and Nationalists

APART from Hitler's position in his own party, another cause of uncertainty is, as Mr. Tennant hints, the future of the alliance between the Nazis and the Nationalists. The latter are far stronger than at first sight may appear. They are firmly entrenched in the Army and the Navy, as well as in industry, and the Stahlhelm troops are better organized than the Nazis. For the present, at any rate, the Opposition, that is to say, the Centre, the Socialists, and the Communists, has ceased to count, but there are all the makings of a quarrel between the allies who form the Government.

Furthermore, the question of the regime and of State rights has got to be faced. The Nazis favour a unitary Empire, though they have not yet made up their minds whether or not they want a Hohenzollern at its head. For the moment, the States have been terrorized into acquiescence by methods that recall the treatment of Belgium during the war, but the centrifugal influences are strong. If the present Government remains united it will probably be able to get its own way, for it certainly will stop at nothing in the exercise of force. If it proves to be divided against itself, Germany will relapse into a chaos reminiscent of the period of the Thirty Years' War.

The Spread of Insecurity

THE revolution in Germany has spread panic among her neighbours, and, on every frontier, garrisons are quietly being strengthened. It is not supposed that the Berlin Government deliberately wishes war: the fear is lest Nazi bands may be tempted without authority to try a *coup de main* in the Polish Corridor or in Vienna, and so strike a spark that in the existing state of Europe,

would inevitably cause a conflagration. In this connection the irruption of a body of Nazis into the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg was hardly reassuring, in spite of their subsequent withdrawal.

At a time of crisis the psychology of peoples is more important than the policy of governments, and in Belgium, North-East France, Poland, and Austria the prevailing feeling is one of alarm. There are shops in Brussels solely devoted to the sale of gas-masks, and in Vienna the main topic of conversation is when and where the next war will begin. Outside Great Britain no European to-day has any real belief that peace will be preserved much longer, and the old rumours of secret mobilization by this Power or that are being circulated once more. The blunt fact is that we are back in the situation that led to war in 1914, and unless we profit by the mistakes made then we cannot avoid disaster.

Recent British Policy

THE Prime Minister appears to realize the gravity of the situation, but whether he has also grasped that only if this country takes the lead can war be avoided is more doubtful. It was to no small extent British vacillation that led to the outbreak of war in 1914, and a like hesitancy now will produce a similar result. The visit to Rome was, let it be frankly admitted, the right thing done in the right way, for the time has come for decisive intervention. The days of Geneva platitudes are over. The day of decisions is at hand. As we have said repeatedly in these comments, the moral authority necessary for a final settlement of European problems can never be found at Geneva. It will be born only of a just agreement between the four leading powers of Europe—France, England, Germany and Italy. To make any agreement of the kind possible, there must be a clear definition of the British attitude. To make such an agreement effective it must be based not on finding a formula, but on the application of rigid and just prin-

ciples to the problem before us. The Geneva mentality has brought Europe to the brink of catastrophe. Can we say that at the eleventh hour it has finally cut its fatal influence on the British Foreign Office?

Sir John Simon

ONE thing is certain. If the happier direction of our foreign policy is to be lasting and fruitful, Sir John Simon will have to change his methods or leave the Foreign Office, where, so far, he has been as great a failure as his friend Mr. Pybus at the Ministry of Transport. Perhaps the very qualities which have made him a great advocate unfit him in some measure for the office of Foreign Secretary. He appears to treat an international problem as if it were a brief, and he displays a complete lack of interest in the psychology of those with whom he is dealing. Sir John Simon, in short, is a disembodied intellect, when what is required is a man with the imagination of a Chatham or a Canning. His note on the German claim to equality of armaments was not a diplomatic document, but counsel's opinion, which annoyed Paris and Berlin yet left matters exactly where they were. His gratuitous intervention in the Hirtenberg arms affair, in which Great Britain had no interest save as a member of the League, came within an ace of throwing Italy into the arms of Germany, and it was only the tact and Anglophil sentiments of Signor Grandi that saved the face of the Foreign Office. Finally, the absurd embargo upon the supply of armaments to the Far East rendered this country ridiculous. Great Britain cannot afford these *gaffes*.

The Immediate Task

THE immediate task for the British Foreign Office is to take the lead in bringing about an effective four-power agreement by using every endeavour to settle the differences which exist between Rome and Paris, and by letting it be known that no alteration of the *status quo* by

force will be tolerated. There is no question here of going beyond the pledges given at Locarno: the moral effect of the formation of a united front by the three Powers will be sufficient.

Once that has been done the task of revision can be approached, of course in collaboration with Germany. There is no other way of preventing war. It is the system of allowing every nation, whatever its size, an equal say that has paralysed international action since 1918. Only the Great Powers can have a European outlook, and so far, it may be observed, it is they alone who have made any sacrifice for the readjustment of the Versailles settlement (by the scaling down of Reparation payments). In these circumstances, it is only fair that the smaller States should make their contribution to the cause of peace, and if they refuse now they may be swept out of existence if war comes.

Lines of Revision

IT is clear that the Polish-German *status quo* cannot be maintained much longer, and that the Corridor must go, but it is equally clear that it would be a monstrous injustice to deprive Poland of an outlet to the sea. Such being the case, is it beyond the capacity of modern statesmanship to effect a union of some sort between Poland and Lithuania? This would not only give the Poles their port at Memel, but would effectively guard Latvia and Esthonia against German aggression, which they both fear. In return Germany and Poland would, needless to say, be required to give an undertaking to respect such a settlement.

Further South, there is now no other solution to the Danube problem than the reunion of Austria and Hungary under the Archduke Otto. Every other expedient to restore prosperity to this part of Europe has failed, and though it is not to be supposed that this would be welcome either in Prague or in Belgrade, that is no reason for not proceeding with it. The only alternative is the union

between Germany and Austria, and the revival of the *Drang nach Osten*, which would prove a greater menace to the Czechs and the Jugo-Slavs than the presence of the Habsburgs in Vienna. Quite frankly, we have reached a position where those who do not like revision must lump it, in case worse befall.

Disarmament

BESIDE these grave matters of treaty revision, disarmament will take second place. Mr. MacDonald's latest set of disarmament proposals suffer, *inter alia*, from the fundamental defect that they represent a further concession to Germany without obtaining any guarantee from her in return. It is too early yet to forecast their ultimate fate, but the probability is that they will serve to keep the Disarmament Conference in being while they are bandied about from one sub-committee to another; that they will then be rejected; and that the whole business will thereafter start again with another spectacular dash of British ministers to Geneva and elsewhere to save the Conference once more. If the Powers could not disarm five or six years ago when Germany was impotent, they are not likely to do so now when militarism is again the order of the day. The first task, as we have said, is to allay the existing panic by a redress of such grievances as may prove to be well founded.

C. P.
D. J.

Herr Hitler and His Policy; March 1933

By E. W. D. Tennant

WE have just seen the rebirth of the national spirit of the German people; whether we like it or not Herr Hitler's movement is an accomplished fact, not merely a passing phase. The Hitler movement has had, and still has, a bad Press in this country, owing probably to the difficulty of making contact with the Nazi leaders, who alone are in a position to supply accurate information. The methods by which the Nazis have worked, talked and smashed their way to power seems harsh and even repulsive, yet how terrible was the alternative. History will record that nothing but this movement would have saved Germany from Bolshevism. We in Great Britain must begin to understand what has happened in Germany.

It is because the Nazis have the youth of Germany behind them that I am convinced the Hitler regime has a long life before it. Every month 50,000 young men and women reach voting age. Hitler's aim is to secure at least 30,000 of them each month as supporters. The average age of the members of the Nazi party is under 35. The oldest Nazi in an executive position is General Litzman, aged 48, and the ages of most of the Nazi members of Parliament run from 35 to 25.

Many people in England still seem to regard Hitler as a revivalist orator: this is utterly wrong. Adolf Hitler is 43 years old, the son of a small Government official of German origin but Austrian nationality. Hitler had hoped to become an architect, but his father's early death compelled him to become a house painter and he was working as such when war broke out. Prouder of his German ancestry than of his Austrian nationality, he promptly volunteered as a private in the German Army and fought throughout the war, getting wounded, gassed and shell-shocked, and winning several decorations.

To an impartial outsider the first impression of Adolf Hitler is rather disappointing. He is of medium height, loosely built, and is more like a youthful edition of J. H. Thomas than of Napoleon. He has a most remarkable moustache. He would like to cut it off, but feels it is now too late—his moustache is famous. He speaks with a Bavarian-Austrian accent and expends a vast amount of physical energy when making a speech. He is probably one of the greatest orators of all time. His voice is attractive, powerful, and untiring; his manner simple and unaffected; his sincerity impressive; his power of swaying an audience extraordinary. During the recent election campaign, wireless, which is far more widespread in Germany than even in England, though more costly, was an immense help to him. By this means he got into personal touch with hundreds of thousands of potential Communists: they came to curse and remained to bless. Hundreds of thousands of his bitterest enemies were thus won over. He is regarded as a demigod by his supporters. Jealousy and intrigue against him in the party is unknown. He is said to have the personal charm of the Austrian with the impersonal hardness of the Prussian. He has a sense of humour and enjoys hearing and telling a good story. He has made a deep study of previous great national movements and their reasons for failure or success. His personal reputation is above reproach. He is unmarried and lives with a sister in Munich. He neither smokes nor drinks and eats so little that those who know him wonder what he lives on.

He has won the admiration and friendship of Herr von Papen and the respect of President Hindenburg. The difficulties between Hitler and von Papen were mainly caused by the intrigues of von Schleicher, whose aim it was to keep them apart. Von Schleicher once removed, Hitler and von Papen became friends. His relations with Hugenberg, an old monarchist reactionary, 67 years old with an obstinate pre-war mind, are more

complicated, but all the members of the present Cabinet have sworn to work together for at least four years. I am assured that Hugenberg and Hitler will work well together.

While Hugenberg would like to see the monarchy restored, Herr Hitler regards this as of very minor importance compared with the restoration of the nation. Hitler will never agree to the monarchy becoming a political issue until he feels certain that at least 60 per cent. of the whole population want a monarchy back. There is small chance of that to-day, nor of the Kaiser or the Crown Prince ever being recalled, though the latter's son may one day be offered the throne, but that is a matter for the future.

In 1919 Hitler drafted the famous 25 points embodying his basic principles; the policy which he has subsequently followed has hardly deviated from the lines then laid down. There is a close resemblance between the programmes of Hitler and Mussolini; historians of the future will not find it easy to decide who was the founder of the Fascist movement—Hitler who wrote out his 25 points in 1919, or Mussolini when he marched on Rome in 1922. Hitler's principal objective was, and is, to bring about the regeneration of the national spirit. As a first step he founded the National Socialist party. Neither of the two principal existing parties, viz., the Centre Party and the Social Democrats, had the slightest chance of uniting the country or of putting the interests of the nation above party politics. The Social Democrats, followers of Karl Marx, were corrupt and more interested in looking after themselves, their friends and relations than in the welfare of the country. One of the first acts of the present Government has been to dismiss over 250,000 officials who, since the Armistice, had been appointed by the Social Democrats for political reasons to comfortable, if superfluous, posts. They are now being given the choice of either going back to their old jobs or of taking a very small pension. This step will save the

Government over three milliard marks or £150,000,000 per annum.

As for the Centre Party this party was always so busy keeping its footing on the see-saw that it could never have fostered any united national spirit. It was recruited mainly from certain localized areas such as Bavaria, Baden and Upper Silesia, while in vast areas of Germany they had no supporters. In some respects the Centre Party was a Separatist Party, and many of its supporters were working for the complete independence of Bavaria, Baden, etc. It was to crush the increasing danger of a Separatist *coup d'etat* that drastic action was recently taken in Bavaria. The action was technically unconstitutional, yet approved by the overwhelming majority of Bavarians. It was in no sense directed against Kronprinz Rupprecht who is very popular, not only in Bavaria, but throughout Germany.

The aim of Hitler is a united Germany. The present machinery of Central Government is complicated by the fact that the local Governments of many of the twenty-six States comprising the German Federation have power, to legislate in matters which affect the whole Reich. This he will alter.

Both the Centre Party and the Social Democrats will probably take years to recover, as the municipal and borough elections which have taken place since the Parliamentary elections prove that Hitler is still gaining supporters. Hitler is often accused in this country of being merely destructive, but the land has to be cleared of weeds before planting, and this is what he has been doing in Germany. He is now getting ready to sow the seed and much has been achieved already. Unemployment is down by 50,000 since a year ago, and it is expected to be down by over a million before the end of this year.

The first step in this direction has been taken by the introduction of a system of voluntary labour battalions consisting of young unmarried unemployed men; over 250,000 have been absorbed by this means since the

beginning of this year. These volunteers are fed, clothed in uniforms, housed in barracks and given 3*d*. per day pocket money, and are put to work on projects that would not otherwise be undertaken at all, such as irrigation schemes, canals and dykes. These projects are put out to public tender and left under the control of private contractors who undertake to draw 80 per cent. of their labour from volunteer battalions. It is too early to say to what extent this scheme is going to succeed and whether it will cost or save the German Government money as compared with the dole, but results so far have exceeded expectations, and by the end of this year the number of the volunteers so employed is expected to reach one million. These battalions are subject to strict discipline and to physical and mental training.

A system of universal compulsory labour for unmarried men between the ages of 18 to 25 will probably be instituted in 1934 to take the place of the pre-war military service. Every German youth will be compelled to give one year's work for his country on work of his choice so far as possible for 3*d*. per day pocket money. This compulsory apprenticeship will supply cheap labour, and help to break down class distinctions. Before the war there used to be as many different castes in Germany as in India.

Hitler is definitely hostile to trusts, syndicates, systems of rationalization and big stores. In his opinion, a small man working with his own capital is a greater asset to the country than a limited liability company working with millions of marks of other people's money. He would prefer to see hundreds of small businesses and works busy throughout the country rather than hundreds of small businesses shut down and a few vast mergers working at a big profit. Big trusts, mergers and large stores which have killed competition and which compel small manufacturers and traders either to go out of business or sell below cost of production will be specially taxed, as also will firms with head offices situated outside

of Germany. Hitler is not anti-capital as long as it is not unfairly employed, but he is determined to encourage personal initiative and to prevent the increase of unemployment through rationalization, and he also intends to protect the small man from being driven out of business by the great combines.

The Government are also drastically cutting the overhead expenses of firms who for financial reasons come under their control. During recent years high directors' fees and salaries have been customary in Germany, sums ranging from 100,000 to 200,000 marks (£5,000/£10,000) per annum being not unusual. Directors and managers of firms coming under Government control are to have their salaries cut in most cases to £600 per annum, occasionally more will be allowed; in no case will salaries exceed the salary payable to a Cabinet Minister, viz., 30,000 marks. By thus pruning expenditure at the top, the Government expect to be able to increase employment in the lower grades.

In regard to taxation Hitler prefers low profits from a large turnover to a high profit on a reduced turnover, and is so confident that Germany has touched bottom and will from now onwards show improving trade returns, that he is prepared to discount the future. With this in mind several taxes are to be cut as from April 1 by as much as 50 per cent. One of these is the tax on motor-cars. About half the private cars in Germany are now laid up owing to the high taxation. Hitler hopes that by reducing these taxes most of the cars will get on to the road again. Through the resulting increase of business in the motor-car and ancillary trades it is expected to decrease unemployment by over half a million before the end of this year, and in revenue the Government expects to gain more than it will lose. A great comb through of all taxes is taking place to see how far, given improving trade, a lower rate of taxation would be likely to yield higher results through increased turnover. This will also be applied in the case of certain import duties.

Hitler insists that capital should be properly used and not manipulated for the benefit of the few against the interests of the many. He is hostile to fixed price stores which have worked the ruin of many small traders, especially when they buy up bankrupt stock and sell it at below cost of production. He particularly objects to international one price stores, because when they make profits, these profits are sent out of the country, and when they do not make profits there is no hope of smaller firms in similar lines of business being able to exist at all. This type of stores will be heavily taxed. It is probable also that the time payment system will be prohibited by law.

Schemes are being worked out for encouraging agricultural co-operative societies for buying and selling. Hitler's aim is to make Germany entirely independent of imported food and fodder, and this has already practically been achieved. As a result of the Lausanne agreement the profits from the State railways which average 600 million marks per annum will no longer have to be handed over in payment of reparations. For many years railway repairs have been below requirements and big schemes for repairs, re-laying of lines, bridge repairs and the speeding up of main line trains are being prepared.

Hitler is waging a fierce war against municipal corruption which had grown to an alarming extent since the revolution. All the old burgomeisters and town councillors who have waxed fat on secret commissions given them by local contractors who benefited by the orgy of public spending that swept the country after the inflation period are not only being dismissed wholesale, but wherever possible are being made to disgorge. For example, since 1924 the town of Cologne has incurred about 450 million marks of foreign indebtedness and a further 250 millions of internal debts, mostly between 1928 and 1930. This money has been squandered on unwanted public buildings, and much has been used corruptly. Similar happenings have occurred in many

of the bigger German towns where municipalities were under the control of the Social Democrats or the Centre Party, and many very astonishing revelations are now coming to light, while the unfortunate inhabitants groan under excessive taxation. Many towns are practically bankrupt, as in the U.S.A.

The Jewish question naturally bulks largely in any forecast of the future, and is a serious and complicated problem. Until 1914 there was no Jewish question in Germany. There were about 400,000 Jews then domiciled in the country. In the main there is still no hostility felt towards these acclimatized Jews as they are called, although at this moment they are no doubt having an anxious time. But during and after the war, there was a vast influx of nearly 1¼ million Jews from Poland and Galicia, all, or nearly all, very poor. They had no ties with Germany, and they were practically forced to live by their wits. Many of them prospered greatly, at a time when most Germans were going from bad to worse, and this aroused great resentment. It is not fair to blame these Galician and Polish Jews for being compelled by the misfortunes of war and revolution to live by their wits. On the other hand, it is not fair to blame Hitler for wanting to get rid of them. Some were undoubtedly becoming a serious menace. They thrived on disorder and were behind a great deal of the worst Communist and Socialist movements. How to deal with these non-acclimatized Jews, who will probably once again set off on an exodus, is a question that will soon have to be faced; they will create trouble wherever they go. My hope and belief is that once the present effervescence of Nationalism calms down, the life of those Jews who were settled in Germany before the war will go on as before. But those who have come in since 1914 will be squeezed out (*a*) by being disfranchised and their German nationality cancelled and (*b*) by those in business being taxed or boycotted out of existence. On this point Hitler will not give way.

As to foreign affairs I am not of those who foresee a danger of Germany making an early attempt to recapture the Polish Corridor by force. Hitler is far too able to risk all he has won by getting involved in a war; on the contrary, the danger of Germany starting a war has definitely been diminished by the advent of Hitler. Prior to this there may have been danger of Germany wanting to fight to win back her self-respect. Now a war will no longer be necessary for this purpose.

In spite of current rumour, I believe the relations between France and Germany to be improving, thanks more to von Papen than to Hitler, but von Papen and the French seem able to understand one another. I do not suggest that the relations between France and Germany are exactly good or are ever likely to be so. The French are afraid of the Germans, and the Nazis with their strict views on racial purity dislike the French intermingling with their African races. They regard the French as a potential spearhead for the black races which may one day threaten the Nordic races. A good Nazi will talk on the racial purity question for hours; it is part of his religion.

As to Germany's relations with Russia I failed to get any clear impression. When I heard Hitler speak in January, 1932, he abused the industrialists of the Ruhr for trading with Russia and for sending their experts to teach the Russians how to compete. I rather gather that Hitler has modified his opinion of the danger of this competition. I believe he now thinks that the Russians will never be serious competitors and that Stalin, having given up hope of being able to teach his people to become mechanical, intends rather to concentrate on the production of agricultural and natural products. There seems no immediate likelihood of Germany declining to accept Russian orders for steel and machinery.

The Nazi organization is as follows :—

Every member of the party, whether man or woman,

has to pay an entrance fee of 3 marks and a monthly subscription of 1 mark 50 (except in the case of unemployed members who pay 80 pfgs. per month). These fees and subscriptions are collected by the thousands of various Nazi depots throughout the country. The General headquarters is, of course, the Braunhaus, Munich. Radiating therefrom are the Gau or Zones. There is one Gau or Zone office in every Regierungsbezirk, which I suppose compares with our Parliamentary Division under the charge of a Zone leader. Inside each of these Zones are thousands of Nazi posts sub-divided into four different classes. These are the Kreise, the Ortsgruppe, the Zelle and the Stutz Punkt. The lowest grade of sub-division is the Stutz Punkt or Blockhouse. A group of 11 persons makes up a Stutz Punkt, the Zelle consists of 50 persons, the Ortsgruppe of over 50 and under 500, while Kreise control 500 people and over. The leader of each of these offices takes his orders from the office immediately above it, and the Zone or Gau leader is directly responsible to the Braunhaus. Under every Zone office there may be 6 or 7 Kreise, 20 to 30 Ortsgruppe, while the sub-divisions into Zelle and Stutz Punkt may run into thousands in a single Zone area depending on the density of the population. There is now a Nazi detachment of some kind, at least a Stutz Punkt in every small village throughout Germany. From this it will be understood how widespread and deeply rooted this National movement is.

Of the income collected in each Zone about 80 per cent. is spent within the Zone area and the balance remitted to Munich. A large income is also derived from collections at public meetings; sums so collected are divided in equal moieties between the Zones and the Braunhaus. Every Zone has to be self-supporting—in fact, every Nazi is expected to be self-supporting. No uniforms are provided by the party. Every member buys his own. In actual practice the richer members help the poorer. There is a widespread mutual help

movement in the party, and no unemployed Nazi need ever go hungry.

Within the party there are two important bodies of picked young men, who must have unblemished records. The most important body is called the S.A. or Sturm Abteilung (Storm Troops) numbering about 400,000. The other is the S.S. or Schutz-Staffel which forms the personal guard of the Nazi leaders, and is above the S.A., i.e. the S.A. has to obey the S.S. These number about 200,000. At this present time of unrest a third body has been formed, drawn from both these two groups, and members of this third body are known as Hilfs-Polizei. They correspond to our special constables and are a force formed to reinforce and relieve the regular police. They wear khaki uniforms and when on active police duty they receive 3 marks per day from the Reich. The S.A. and the S.S. are unpaid volunteers—indeed they have to contribute their monthly membership fee. There are also organizations for educating children, beginning at the age of 10, in Nazi principles. These children's classes are held several times a week all over the country, and the children attending wear the brown shirt.

A year ago when I first studied the Hitler movement, Adolf Hitler was referred to as Adolf Hitler. Six months ago I heard him called the German Cromwell. To-day he is talked of as the German Messiah. The Nazis always refer to him as Der Fuhrer—the leader. I asked what would happen if Hitler died. It is thought that Goering, Frick and Rosenberg could now carry on, and preparations have been made for such an eventuality. While Hitler has never met Mussolini, at any rate officially, both Goering and Rosenberg, Hitler's two right-hand men, have been in close personal touch with Mussolini, and it is safe to assume that Il Duce has been a valued friend and adviser. The present German régime is on good terms with the Pope. Goering has kept in close personal touch with, and von Papen is a Privy Councillor to, the

Vatican. 70 per cent. of the present German Cabinet are Catholics.

As to the immediate future, Hitler will probably dissolve the Reichstag for a period and govern without Parliament. He will, however, on the lines employed by Mussolini, call upon selected experts and specialists to reorganize and advise upon particular branches of industry. He has the reputation of being very gifted in the choice of coadjutors. When President Hindenburg dies or retires Hitler and von Papen will probably become President and Chancellor or *vice versa*.

I was, I believe, one of the first foreigners to see over the Karl Liebnecht House in Berlin since its former occupants were expelled. This house used to be the Communist headquarters not only of Germany, but of the whole world. When I saw over it less than a fortnight after it had been seized by the Nazis as a reprisal for the burning of the Reichstag, the process of searching out what it really contained was still in full swing and likely to take several weeks to finish. The discoveries that have already been made surpass anything described by Edgar Wallace or "Sapper." The Karl Liebnecht house is a vast barrack of a place, about half the size of Buckingham Palace, and contains hundreds of rooms and one wing set up as a printing works where Communist propaganda was prepared for distribution all over the world. There were stocks of hundreds of thousands of pamphlets in many languages including thousands of pamphlets specially prepared for distribution among the natives of India and South Africa. Some of the most interesting discoveries I saw were maps showing what direct action had been planned to follow a general strike arranged for early February. Radiating from the Karl Liebnecht house as a centre point were arrows pointing to the principal bridges, power stations and reservoirs of Berlin and notations showing which were to be blown up. Railways were to be cut, barracks and police stations seized and figures by the side showed the number of men

considered necessary to carry through each coup. Inside the building vast cellars have been discovered with hidden trap doors and underground passages running under the Alexander Platz with exits in various houses nearly ¼ mile away. The leaders seem to have lived in luxury. The cost of running such an organization must have been enormous. Much information on the subject of where the money came from has been obtained from examining the books so far discovered. Since part of the finance apparently came from Jewish sources, this has acerbated the anti-Jewish agitation. I cannot believe that the great firms who, I am told, appear as prominent contributors, can have done so except as an insurance premium to protect their plate glass windows in case of riots, but the fact remains that the Nazis are writing up evidence of having contributed to the Communist funds as a black mark against any firms or persons found to have done so.

Much information of the highest interest to the British Empire and particularly in regard to India and the activities of a concern called the Anti-Imperial League is available. The evidence that I saw supports the idea that the burning of the Reichstag and the consequent seizing of the Karl Liebnecht house was an act of providence. Had this seizure been delayed even for a few days, there would have been a Communist uprising with destruction and arson in all the big towns throughout the country. Any danger of concerted action by the Communists is now considered to be over.

Those who have had no personal experience of the conditions in Germany since the war should reserve judgment on the Nazi movement. There is an old Italian proverb which says: "The world will always stand aside to let anyone pass who knows where he is going." Our neighbours across the North Sea now know where they are going: are we equally fortunate? It is the danger to ourselves of being outdistanced by Germany that I also wish to emphasize. The Hitler movement is a

movement run by post-war minds. The average age in the party is probably under 35. Hitler is only 43, Goering 42 and Goebels 36. Furthermore, they are all men who fought in the front line. The old politicians who were responsible for the conditions leading up to the war no longer have control. The men at the wheel in Germany have an utterly different outlook on life from that of the orthodox politician to which we in this country are accustomed, because they have had an utterly different training. Hard they are, ruthless they may be, but they know exactly what they want and it is certain that the last thing they want is another war.

Nothing can now dislodge the Nazis from a long period of control in Germany: let us, therefore, take it seriously. We made a great mistake in not realizing that Fascist Italy was a permanent and not a transient phenomenon. Let us not repeat our error. A friendly hand stretched out now would be the best and quickest way of helping the Jews and others in Germany who need outside help.

Seven Years: The Regime of Field-Marshal Lord Milne

By Liddell Hart

A SEVEN-YEAR period has a proverbial significance in the stages of human life. Such a period, in the life of the British Army, has just ended with Field-Marshal Lord Milne's retirement from the office of Chief of the Imperial General Staff. He exchanges its manifold responsibilities for honoured repose as Constable of the Tower.

His new post has antiquity; his old one has hardly attained maturity. It is only twenty-nine years since the office of "Commander-in-Chief" was abolished. From the fourteenth to the sixteenth century there was a Lord High Constable at the head of the Army. The tenure of its holders was often even longer than Lord Milne's, and the title gives an appropriate flavour to his new post at the Tower. In the seventeenth century, at the Restoration, the office of Commander-in-Chief or "Captain-General" was created, and with slight variations of title continued until the reorganization of the Army after the Boer War.

It was then replaced by that of a "Chief of the General Staff," whose title was in 1909 enlarged by the inclusion of "Imperial." While this office is still the highest in the Army, and its holder is "First Military Member of the Army Council" as well as head of the General Staff, the measure of its influence has to some extent depended on the personality and prestige of the holder.

Since its creation in 1904 it has been occupied by ten men. Lord Milne's nine predecessors averaged two-and-a-half years in power, and none received an extension beyond their four years' appointment. By receiving two extensions, and serving seven years, Lord Milne has naturally had a much greater opportunity—to consolidate

his position and fufil his plans. That he has been virtually Commander-in-Chief is a tribute to his determination no less than to his prestige. It involved both struggle and patience. To gain his way he had to obtain an Army Council whose other three military members were in accord with his own ideas. At first he met with difficulties and certain opposition. He had to wait until these were removed before he could count on the close co-operation and support necessary to go forward unhindered.

But for the past five years he has been fortunate in having military colleagues on the Army Council who were mostly much junior to him as well as in accord with him. Thus he gained in real authority. Yet, curiously, it was in the earlier, shorter, and more difficult phase that his main contribution was made and his new steps initiated.

To cast up a balance-sheet of loss and gain at a time when emotions are stirred by the departure of a familiar and honoured figure from the scene of his labours is always a delicate task. It is especially so when dealing with an institution like the Army, where the hierarchical system and the habit of subordination, most necessary in its right place, preclude criticism to a degree that is unknown in other professions, and that would be hardly comprehensible to a scientific mind. This reflection reminds me of the humorous, yet serious, warning of my beloved old chief: "You'll learn that generals are as sensitive as prima-donnas." I have long learnt to appreciate his wisdom.

But within the Army the deterrent is more powerful. The military system has not yet discovered how to reconcile the scientific analysis of facts with the necessity for instinctive obedience in performance. Thus senior officers have but a very limited chance of seeing their work through others' eyes. Those who realize the limitation wisely keep their ears open to the subdued notes of dissent. But the habit of listening for these

undertones of criticism, and of giving it appropriate emphasis, is apt to make anyone unduly sensitive to normal criticism. This aural delicacy is a hindrance to the critic who would speak naturally, giving his opinion frankly and fairly, instead of by guarded insinuation.

Yet the difficulties do not justify abstention from the attempt to sum up a seven-years regime of such importance. It is the due of the man himself, of the men who have served under him, and of the nation he has served. And to be of any enlightenment it must set forth both credit and debit items. A mere eulogy, glossing over reality, dishonours the recipient as much as the critic. The man who is worth a place in history is worth a critical examination. And Lord Milne, unlike many who rise to high position by their mere unobtrusiveness, is a big enough man to deserve such examination.

The first fact which strikes one is that during Lord Milne's seven years of office, under Labour as well as Conservative Governments, the Army has been maintained practically at the original size. It is true that the authorized number of men has dropped by a few thousand, but the difference is insignificant. This maintenance of numbers is said to be the achievement of which Lord Milne himself is most proud, and it is certainly testimony to his capacity to induce successive Governments to adhere to his view.

On the other hand, this is obviously a negative more than a positive achievement. Mere numbers mean less and less in modern conditions, as no one has pointed out more emphatically than Lord Milne himself. And it is an ominous fact that the effective force of the Army and its readiness for service have gravely declined. We still maintain five divisions, but it is a matter of general questioning whether more than one of these would be able to take the field for the first few months if an emergency arose, and even this would be of obsolescent pattern.

Equally serious is the lack of fire support provided for the infantry. In 1926 the divisional artillery com-

prised three field brigades and one light brigade. It still remains at the same figure, although in practice it is accepted that the present quantity is only sufficient to provide a covering barrage for one out of the twelve infantry battalions.

The infantry of the division have been maintained at this pre-war number of battalions, but their small arm as well as its artillery support has shrunk. They have now neither mortars nor rifle-grenades. Each battalion has been reduced by one rifle company, but these have not yet been provided with new light machine-guns to replace the Lewis guns, although the necessity has been recognized for years past.

As some compensation the number of heavy machine-guns has been increased from eight to twelve during Lord Milne's regime, but these are practically no help in the attack unless they are in mechanized carriers. At the end of 1928 two infantry brigades were organized on a new model, and have been equipped with these carriers as well as with mortars. But nothing more has been done to equip the remaining thirteen brigades.

It is more pleasant to record the " light infantry revival which began last year, with Lord Milne's approval, and has been followed up by the experimental issue of lightened equipment and easier dress for the infantryman. In skilful stalking lies the only chance, if a slender one, of avoiding hopeless slaughter if our army had to take the field as at present armed.

But " Mechanization " is the word which in the public mind is most associated with Lord Milne's name and regime. Those who knew him know that he was a believer in it before he came into office, and that he had grasped the importance of armoured mobility at a time when most of his contemporaries were still living in the past. To the public it was made manifest by the creation of the Experimental Mechanized Force in 1927, and by the subsequent address in which he set forth his views on modern warfare. He pointed out, justly, that " for

the last thirty or forty years there has been going on a gradual stabilization on the battlefield—caused by the machine-gun . . . That experience began in South Africa, but we did not see whither we were tending. If we had studied the Russo-Japanese war more carefully, we should have seen whither things were leading. Then we had the Great War, which came as a surprise to many of us, though had we only studied history properly it should have been no surprise whatever." As a candid statement of military blindness to reality, these comments have not been surpassed by any outside critic, and compel respect for Lord Milne's perception.

He further declared that " the human race will not again stand losses like the last war," and that " the only means " of avoiding it is " to revive the possibility of the art of generalship. You can do that only by again making mobility possible on the battlefield." In his judgment " the solution " was to be found in the combination of armour and the petrol engine. " The hostile machine-gun takes away the tactical mobility of the infantryman." " Petrol mobility enables you to carry armour and to break through and get the fighting man up to close quarters. Against the machine-gun the solution is armoured vehicles."

In these words Lord Milne announced " the purpose " which underlay the creation of the first " armoured brigade," as a step towards forming " armoured divisions." He went on to say that while infantry divisions would still remain, they " will be improved by mechanical weapons and mechanical means of traction," and have " armoured cars, tankettes, and tank battalions " working with them. But he intimated that the development of air attack and mustard gas was likely to limit the number of infantry that could be effectively employed. " You will realize thoroughly that with a proper supply of aeroplanes, properly handled, on one side, the ' nation in arms ' idea is becoming a very difficult one indeed to carry out. I have only got to mention it to you, as soldiers, that crowds

of men on the battlefield are out of place when you have low flying aeroplanes against them. Think of their communications and supplies!"

The fairest test of Lord Milne's subsequent achievement is certainly that provided by his own considered statement of what was needed to revive the effectiveness of the Army. So let us see what changes have been made by 1933. In the years since then, the idea has spread throughout the country that the Army has become mechanized. This, however, is far from the truth.

During the past seven years there has been fruitful research for new types of tanks and other motor vehicles. The thought of the Army has been directed to these problems of the future, and the first manual of mechanized warfare has been compiled. Various tactical trials have been carried out, which have made enthusiastic converts of officers taking part in them.

But for practical purposes "mechanization" is still a catchword rather than a reality. Scarcely any progress has been made in changing the structure of the Army. There were only four battalions of tanks before Lord Milne came into office. There are still only four. These are still equipped with the same medium tanks, now seven years older and almost obsolete. A mere fifty of the new light tanks have been provided.

The mechanization of the Regular Artillery had already been begun in 1926, and two field brigades had been converted. But only two more have since been mechanized, out of a total of twenty-eight. The Territorial Artillery, however, has been completely mechanized, although on a skeleton scale.

In his historic 1927 address Lord Milne spoke of forming "armoured divisions" for the strategic rôle that cavalry fulfilled before they were hamstrung by modern fire. But so far only one brigade has been formed for a short time, and even that has now been broken up in order not to leave the infantry divisions entirely denuded of tank support. Yet twenty cavalry regiments are still

maintained. Two were converted some years back to armoured cars, and the transport of the others has been motorized, but this does not solve the problem of making the trooper bullet-proof.

How can we explain the huge gulf between promise and performance? Financial stress, varying Imperial conditions, the Cardwell System, the inertia of the military machine, vested interests, the doubts of more conservative soldiers, are among the factors with which Lord Milne has had to contend. They excuse much, but do not fully explain so vast a gulf. For no one has proclaimed more forcibly than himself the folly of launching unprotected infantry against machine-guns, or the necessity for a complete change of ideas, and for the provision of adequate weapons.

When he came into office he was certainly conscious of the difficulty of making the complete change within his four years' tenure. But he has been in power seven. And when he received his first extension in 1930 the then Secretary of State stated it to be for the purpose of ensuring continuity in the policy of mechanizing the Army. But there has been stagnation rather than continuation. The Army of 1933 is still substantially a pre-1914 army of cannon-fodder, relying on flesh and blood to fight that most deadly " mechanized " weapon—the machine-gun.

I have set forth the facts. To find an explanation of them one would have to weigh not only the external factors which have acted as a brake upon necessary change, but Lord Milne's own character, and the effect of age upon his urge to make changes. For, with a seeming doubt of his own judgment, despite his determined way, he has several times gone back on his own most notable pronouncements. One recalls that Wellington, when commanding in the Peninsular War at barely forty years of age, insisted on the need for youth in executive positions and declared that in his experience, " the young ones will always beat the old ones." Yet he

himself in later years became an invincible opponent of military reform and thereby paved the way for our Crimean disasters. By comparison with Wellington at a similar stage, Lord Milne has aged much less in mind and remained much more receptive to ideas. It is his misfortune, however, that he is likely to be judged in the light, not of his predecessors, but of contemporary needs.

Lord Milne's problem was the greater because only great changes would suffice. Only a complete reorganization of the Army could revive its lost powers. Faced with an ever-tightening purse, he could only have found the money for new arms and equipment by a drastic reduction of the existing units. Their present ineffectiveness for modern war constituted an urgent demand for a far-reaching change, but there were so many other considerations to hold him back. So, perhaps unconsciously, he resigned himself to making minor changes.

The same failure to take the large measures that alone can save the situation has been seen in regard to the promotion of officers, and to-day the congestion is so bad that it is nullifying the prospects, damping the enthusiasm, and rusting the abilities of many able officers. It is the country, even more than the individual, that suffers for an opportunity that comes too late. Yet in lesser matters there have been numerous improvements. Under Lord Milne's regime the curriculum at Sandhurst and Woolwich has been broadened, and their system brought more into line with university methods. An annual General Staff Conference is now held at Camberley, to which representatives of the Territorial Army, the Civil Service, the public schools, and industry are invited. The nomination of officers for the Staff College has been put on a fairer basis. So has their subsequent selection for staff appointments. He has taken vigorous steps to check officers intriguing for jobs, and has been equally strict in penalizing any who did not care for the jobs they were offered. Many who had long escaped serving in India have found themselves compelled to go there.

In an army of the past, suited to the slow-changing conditions of its age, such improvements might have sufficed to constitute a worthy record of achievement. Many men have done less during their tenure of power. But under modern conditions the changes that have been made hardly touch the fringe of the need. The "Crimean" Army is, justly, a by-word for historic inefficiency. Since then, the army has vastly changed for the better. Yet, relatively, one must recognize that even the Crimean Army lagged far less behind the military conditions of its period than does the army of 1933. Despite all its defects, as so clearly portrayed by Lord Wolseley and others, it at least possessed a power of overcoming a hostile army which the modern army has lost since the rise of the defensive machine-gun.

The restoration of this power is no less urgent, and hardly less remote, than it was seven years ago. Government spokesmen have referred to a "programme of mechanization," but they have failed to enlarge upon its nature, and to the onlooker it seems to mean only the addition of a driblet at uncertain intervals. One more field brigade of artillery is to be mechanized this year, making five in all, and leaving twenty-three still unmechanized. Yet the annual cost of a mechanized brigade is shown to be nearly £9,000 less than the old type, so the taxpayer is presumably a loser by the delay. Again, looking back at the Army Estimates for 1926 one observes a footnote to the effect that the total includes one brigade "not yet raised." In the 1933 Estimates one finds the same footnote! It reflects curiously on the references to "a programme." At the present rate of progress the army could hardly expect to be fully modernized on present-day lines before the year A.D. 2000.

In the new Estimates the obsoletely armed infantry have to be content with a mere promise that a decision as to the new type of light machine-guns may be possible this year, with a view to provision "in due course." The phrase has a fine irony. The infantry have been waiting

more than seven years for a weapon to replace the old Lewis gun.

No fresh tank units are to be added to the mere four battalions we possess at home, but the two armoured-car companies in Egypt, which have been equipped with tanks for some time, are now to be converted in name into a " tank battalion "—of two companies. As it will even now not be a complete battalion fully equipped, it is to be described as a battalion " on a lower establishment." This faith in the power of nomenclature to atone for deficiencies is somewhat ingenuous.

Yet the annual cost of a tank battalion is only £156,000, although it has greater fire-power than four infantry battalions, which cost £400,000 a year. And this superiority is multiplied by its armoured mobility, which enables its fire to be applied at closer ranges and to be switched rapidly from one point to another.

The provisional Tank Brigade which was formed for training last summer embodied a fire-power greater—in guns and machine-guns—than that of a whole infantry division of 20,000 men. Yet that immense fire-power was wielded, that land fleet manned, by barely 600 men. If battles are won, as the pundits are always telling us, by the concentration of superior force at the decisive spot, certainly no other type of formation can so concentrate its force at a spot as a tank formation can.

In view of the general recognition that mere numbers count for little in modern war, it is astonishing to note how little the Estimates devote to weapons and machines —only £348,000 for tanks and tractors, and £346,000 for guns and small arms—compared with £20,866,000 absorbed in the cost of personnel.

Unless our men are to be marked down as meat for enemy machine-guns, they must be furnished with modern equipment. This implies that the infantry battalion is provided with more fire-power, and mobile fire-power—with machine-guns and mortars mounted in unobtrusive armoured carriers that can move close up and cover the

riflemen's stalking advance with fire by direct observation. It implies also that the infantry division is reorganized to provide more fire-support with less exposure of men. Twelve infantry battalions are too many; nine have long been deemed enough in France and Germany, even though their fire-support is stronger. The fire-support of ours is utterly inadequate, with only three brigades of field artillery (48 guns), one brigade of light artillery, and one battalion of tanks. As between the two forms of support, an increase of tanks would be more economical, and on balance more effective, than an increase of guns.

Finally, there is a need, as Lord Milne insisted six years ago, to create independent "armoured divisions" for the decisive strokes, strategic and tactical, that the mounted arm was used to execute, before warfare became indecisive. In the campaigns of Gustavus, Cromwell and Condé, before the tactical effect of cavalry was impaired by the growing effect of fire, the proportion of cavalry to infantry was normally as one to two. If we took the organization of the "New Model" as a guide in creating our new model, we should provide one light tank, manned by two men, for every four infantrymen we maintain. And the cost of each would be approximately equal. In terms of unit, this implies a minimum of one tank brigade for every two infantry brigades. And the cost of the former would be less.

Infantry, even when modernized, cannot replace the need for a re-created cavalry, because they cannot strike quick enough or follow through soon enough to secure decisive results. That is the lesson of history.

With the Gods on Olympus

[*Apparet divom numen sedesque quietae.*]

By The Rt. Hon. L. S. Amery, M.P.

"UNCLE George says we can have three days off," said Bill S——, putting his head inside the Intelligence Office, Salonika Force, where I sat perspiring over my latest distribution list of the Bulgarian forces, "so what do you say to our going up Olympus?" "Bless the old dear," said I, referring to our Commander-in-Chief, then Sir G. Milne, "he knows he owes me something for not letting me fly to Roumania to check up my Bulgar notes with the Roumanian intelligence"—the German-Bulgarian attack on Roumania was just beginning. That same evening, thanks to the excellent relations between the naval and military forces, a dispatch boat on its way to Athens dropped at Litokhoro a couple of keen mountaineers, disguised, it is true, in British staff uniforms, but for the moment thinking of one thing only, the conquest of Olympus. Day after day we had seen it, across the Gulf of Salonika, a snowy summit floating high in the midst of the blue heaven, and had agreed that no sane person could doubt that, if gods there were, that was their obvious home, and that the obvious duty, hitherto strangely neglected, of every true mountaineer was to ascend and pay his respects in person to their memory—or their still abiding presence.

It was no easy task to get the villagers of Litokhoro to assist in so clearly absurd a project as the ascent of a mountain for its own sake. But in a quiet talk over a glass of *raki* with a stalwart Venizelist mayor, I confided to him that our real object was to set up a secret wireless station on the summit to intercept enemy messages between Germany and Palestine, and with his help we soon had mules and muleteers enough to carry up our slender kit. We pitched our camp next evening at well over 6,000 feet on a ridge leading towards the summit,

and Bill and I picked out with our glasses a feasible gully route up the last few hundred feet of sheer rock.*

Alas for high hopes! Morning broke with mist and drizzle. Worse still, my companion was ill with fever and unable to move. Towards noon a break in the weather encouraged me to try by myself. The ridge offered no difficulty, but by the time I reached the rocks I was lost in mist again. I took the first gully that offered, easy clambering for two or three hundred feet, but then turning into a narrow vertical chimney with remarkably little hold even for the traditional back and foot method of progression. Presently I reached a shelf broad enough to stand or even sit on. But above it the chimney, wet and slippery, offered no vestige of even a roughening for ten or twelve feet, above which a large jammed rock gave an easy purchase if only I could reach it. By a tremendous effort, more leap than climb, I got my right arm over it. I pulled and, to my horror, the rock slid down, slowly at first, but quite rapidly enough to give my head a stunning blow. I dropped back, but somehow managed to check my fall at the shelf.

When I recovered, I looked up and found that the rock had re-jammed itself almost at the very point where, in its descent, it had struck my head. To reach it was easy now, and having tested its security I climbed over it. Standing on it I found a good handhold within reach, and then others, and rapidly made my way up. Soon the dark grey mist lightened and a moment later I emerged in a golden haze on to what I knew was some part of the summit. A few steps more up a gentle slope, and suddenly the mist parted and I found myself in dazzling sunlight on a broad paved terrace, from which a flight of steps led up to a massive series of buildings in what at home I should have called Palladian style.

* Those who are interested in the historical or technical aspects of the ascent of Mt. Olympus should consult M. Marcel Kurz's important monograph on the subject.

I looked round and saw close beside me a figure in British uniform. Instinctively my eye caught the badges of high rank and I saluted. It was only then that I became aware of the fact that the tall and slender figure before me was feminine. "Lady L——," I said, recognizing, as I thought, features well known to me in days of peace, whose possessor had, I heard, recently played a great part in organizing a woman's war corps. The grey eyes looked through me, and I saw my error. "Forgive me, goddess," I faltered; "I, of all your worshippers should have known, and here of all places." She smiled and said "You have seen me in other places and in many guises," and reminded me of more than one moment, from boyhood onwards, when a word or look, it might be from a friend or even from a stranger, had given me a new vision, a fresh confidence, a strange elation, bearing little relation to its apparent human source.

"Some human form we must always assume to human eyes, even here in our own home. But as you have persevered to seek us here, and as in other ways your spirit is with the old gods, you shall see more of us—that is if I can get permission. Follow me." I followed Pallas Athene up the broad stairway and through an imposing colonnaded portico into a large entrance hall and down a corridor where everything, including the central heating, showed that the home of the gods was up to date. At a certain door she knocked. A deep voice said "come in," and at Athene's beckoning I followed her into the study of the Father of Gods and Men.

Dressed in an old-fashioned and well-worn frock-coat, and looking extraordinarily like the late Lord Salisbury, with a dash of Mr. Venizelos thrown in, Zeus was sitting at a vast desk full of papers. Immediately in front of him was a typewriter. At his right hand a magnificent bronze eagle was poised above an electric switchboard of the most modern design. Athene asked if I might be allowed to stay in the palace and meet some of the other

gods and goddesses. "Against all the rules, and has always led to trouble before. I can't have it." Then, catching Athene's eye, he relented. "Not for dinner anyhow. But go and tell Her Majesty he has my permission to come in to tea. I will join you in a moment when I have dealt with the weather on the Salonika front." He pulled some of the levers on the switchboard and beckoned me to the window to see the lightning flashes over Macedonia. "Is Olympus out of date?" he asked, rubbing his hands with boyish glee.

Athene led me to a large hall full of comfortable armchairs where, entrenched behind a mighty tea-table, sat the Queen of Olympus. The great brown eyes I knew at once, from Homer; the rest was clearly modelled in every detail of queenly bearing and apparel, on our own Queen at home. I was presented and graciously bidden to sit down and take tea. Other gods and goddesses were already there, and more kept dropping in. At another tea-table presided over, I assumed, by Hebe, a torpedo beard and a British Admiral's uniform obviously proclaimed Poseidon's identity and his political sympathies. Beside him, young and clear-cut, in a French flying uniform, was no less obviously Hermes. A limping figure, short but immensely broadshouldered, and curiously reminiscent of the late Will Crooks, was surely Hephaestus. In striking contrast to these was the next pair to enter. The first, in flannels, and with the face of the youthful Goethe, was Apollo. The next, a lithe, graceful figure in jodhpores and a soft felt hat, threw herself down in a chair beside him and began enthusing about that same morning's pigsticking in Chotahazri State from which she had just come; Apollo listened with an infinite interest and pleasure in his sister which concealed his complete indifference to her story. Then turning to me she said: "Do you remember our last meeting?" I looked and suddenly there came back to me the picture of a girl moving with effortless ease and amazing speed over the rocks of the Zinal Rothorn, and

then poised like a goddess on its summit. There was another day on the Meije——

But our climbing reminiscences were cut short by a general stir as there floated into the hall beauty incarnate in the most perfect and scantiest of garments (it was 1916). "Her Boche sympathies don't go the length of Berlin frocks," said Queen Hera acidly. As for me my heart stood still with bewildered delight as Aphrodite's blue eye held me in its radiance. "You surely haven't forgotten me, Mr. Man," she said laughingly, and I blushed more and more as one incident after another, innocently sentimental or deliciously reprehensible, was recalled to me by the changing play of her features or by the subtlest motion of hand or shoulder. My embarrassment was great, for bewitched as I was, I was fully conscious of Hera's disapproval of Aphrodite, and, more serious for me, of Athene's pained recognition of my frailty.

The tension was eased by the entry of Ares. Swaggering into the circle in the full-dress panoply of a cuirassier of the Prussian Guard he was, in very fact, what I had once, at a parade on the Tempelhoferfeld, seen Kaiser Wilhelm trying to look like—the God of Battle. With a scowl on his handsome face, as he noticed my presence, he contemptuously remarked "I observe the English find it easier to scale Olympus than to storm the heights of the Somme." Athene quickly took up my cause. "Don't forget, Brother Boche, that from Trojan days downwards you have usually backed the wrong horse. Besides this young officer is not concerned with the Somme, but with the Vardar and the Jordan, rivers which are destined to mean much more in the final decision of the war than your sluggish Somme." "What nonsense," replied Ares, "where the main forces are and where the most blood flows, there war is decided. It is not your side-shows, but the killing of Germans or Allies that will win or lose this war. Anyhow, whoever wins, this is the finest war I've ever enjoyed."

"And the stupidest," interrupted Father Zeus, who had dropped in during this altercation and was drinking his tea out of a special father-of-the-family cup. "In my reminiscences I shall christen this 'The War of the Blind against the Purblind,' the war that lasted longest, cost most, and achieved relatively least, because of the equally dogged stupidity of the military leadership on both sides. This is beyond you, Ares, my boy, who are really only a god of fighting. War as the supreme art and the final test of policy is a matter of brains—isn't it, Pallas, dear?"

Athene blushed proudly at her father's compliment to her as the true Goddess of War and Policy. Ares sulkily tried to think of a retort, but gave it up when Aphrodite's hand quietly found his. A moment later they had slipped out together. I noticed Hephaestus limping out soon after, muttering something about perfecting his latest device in television. Meanwhile, Hera interposed "Isn't the one thing that matters that the Germans should be well crushed? I fear, sire, your too scientific outwitting of them might end the war quickly, but only leave them all the sooner in a position to strike at their neighbours again."

"These things are relative," said the Father of Gods and Men, wiping the butter of his last crumpet from his beard. "What is the use of weakening Germany if you weaken yourselves yet more? I am thinking not only of lives and money but of all the moral and psychological issues which your friends are raising to the prejudice of any rational peace and to the weakening of their own position in the world. It will take them a generation of disillusionment and distress to disentangle themselves from the consequences of the nonsense they are spreading to-day about making the world safe for democracy, waging war to end war, uniting humanity on the basis of self-determination, and all the rest of it.

"Anyhow you, my young English friend," said Father Zeus, turning to me, "may be able to do some-

thing among your own people, where Athene says you have some little influence now, and may with her aid win more later. Help them to recover their perspective. Let them remember that the throwing away of unnecessary lives and money on the continent of Europe at the bidding of an unintelligent strategy is no reason for a policy tying you up in European local affairs afterwards. This war is going to end by transforming Europe. But that is not your concern. The war is going to work an even greater transformation in the world outside and in your Empire, and your business is to attend to that. Help your people to disentangle themselves from Europe as fast as they can.

"Meanwhile, there is the peace settlement. What matters to you is your control of the sea and the air and of the territories, big or small, which will help you to that control. The more coasts you can deny to possible naval rivals, the more continuous territory you can give your own airmen to fly over, the safer you will be. Besides, in any case, in peace treaties, as in any business that looks far enough ahead, landed property is the one sound investment. Other terms are broken or modified; indemnities may never be paid, or their payment be unwelcome when it comes. But landed property, and the more of it the better, will always increase in value with the general development of the world. Remind your fellow-countrymen that they once hesitated between Canada and Guadeloupe. Remind them of the figure at which they might once have bought Alaska or Delagoa Bay. Let them make sure of East Africa and of the most effective general control of Palestine, Arabia, Iraq, and Persia, and complete as far as possible the circle of the British system round the Indian Ocean.

"Don't let them bother about indemnities or debt payments. From industrial rivals and from ex-Allies whom you cannot force to commute money obligations for permanent assets these things are only a nuisance. Nor let them worry too much about their own debts.

Their internal debt will be nothing but a statistical record of the efforts they are now making and of the exaggerated prices at which those efforts are being calculated. Any external debt they may yet incur to America should be cheerfully accepted as a stimulus to develop their own resources and so make themselves independent of America in future. Let them use it to force them to grow their own cotton, mine their own copper, and employ the wonderful creative power of gold discoveries to develop their own territories. Let them be thankful that they have got an America that is stupid enough to want to be paid, and paid in gold.

"Above all let them get on with the organization and development of their own Empire, as enlarged by the war, and as it may yet be enlarged by further adhesions. Do not let them stand selfishly in the way of any other organizations that may arise in Europe or Asia or America. But save them, so far as you can—and I fear they may commit themselves too deeply before the war is over—from fantastic and unreal schemes of world organization. Let them remember the Holy Alliance and the wisdom with which England detached herself from that league of stagnation and reaction into which she had been inveigled by the sentimentalists after the Napoleonic wars. If she has to join any new Holy Alliance after the war let her see to it to keep it as innocuous as she can while she is in it, and to extricate herself boldly when the occasion arises. Her chief danger will always be from the sentimental internationalists, first from the political cranks, less obviously, but even more dangerously, from the bankers and financiers, who are just as sentimental and just as cranky in their internationalism . . . Dear me," said the old gentleman suddenly looking at his watch, "I must get back to work. I've never had so much to do. Get home safely, young man, and remember what you can of my advice." Everyone rose as the Father of Gods and Men moved off to his study.

"Rather pathetic, I fear," whispered Athene to me,

"this make-believe that we gods still really govern the world. The old gentleman is literally a slave to his typewriter and his switchboard. All the same, there was much good sense and long experience in what he told you. It is time for you to get back, not only off the rocks and to Salonika, but back to England. I will see what I can do, through my friend Milner, to arrange that you are put where you can work for some of these things. You will not accomplish all of them during the war, and you will need all your patience and persistence afterwards. You will see the years slip by and find yourself foiled again and again by timidity and stupidity in the things to which you have so far given your life. In the end you will see them fulfilled by other hands than yours, and you will be old in years—but not in heart, if you keep your faith—when your last and greatest task comes to you. Till then, τετλαθι, hold on in courage of soul, and whenever you need me most I shall be with you."

The evening sun was setting on the distant Thessalian ranges as the goddess led me down the palace steps, across the paved terrace, and down the rough slope still wrapt in light haze, to the edge of a vertical crack descending into a gloom of dark, eddying mist. I looked down to make sure it was my chimney, and when I looked up again she had gone. A large bird—a hawk, I think—was soaring up through the mist into the light above. I descended, and in due course reached the great chockstone and let myself down by it. For a moment I hung by my hands while making up my mind to drop on to the shelf below. Exactly how I did this is not clear to me. But the next thing I remember was that I was getting on to my knees on the shelf feeling curiously stiff and chilly. I continued and soon I was in the broader gully and on to the open ridge, guided in the gathering darkness by the light of my companion's bivouac below.

"Did you do Olympus?" asked Bill. I nodded assent. "Was it misty on top?" I nodded again.

The Soviets and the Minerals of Chinese Turkestan

By P. S. Nazároff

Translated from the Russian by Dr. Malcolm Burr.

Note.—P. S. Nazároff, the well-known Russian geologist and traveller, after escaping from the Bolshevik prison in Tashkent and hiding in the mountains for two years, succeeded in making his way over the Tian Shan range into Kashgar, where he lived for four years. Here he devoted his time to the investigation of the mineral wealth of the province, the first European systematically to prospect in the country, hitherto visited only by an occasional geologist from the West, such as Stolicska or Bogdanovich. His adventures have been graphically described in his remarkable book "Hunted Through Central Asia." As the author spent thirty years prospecting and mining in Central Asia, this article may be taken as authoritative. In the present political phase in Northern and Central Asia, it has exceptional interest.

I.

THE silence of the Soviets in the presence of Japanese activity in Manchukuo, so near their frontier, is interpreted by good observers as the price of their complaisance in the face of Bolshevik intrigue and penetration in Sin Kiang, the great province of Western China better known as Chinese Turkestan or Kashgaria.

The majority of educated readers, however, may well ask what possible attraction for the Soviets could there be in this barren sandy wilderness, with a thin, scattered and backward population, cut off from the world by almost impassable deserts and ranges of the highest mountains on earth.

It juts as a kind of promontory of the Chinese Empire westwards between the Russian Empire on the north and British India on the south. To the west, on the plateau of the Pamirs, it marches with the frontiers of Russia and Afghanistan. This level, elevated region, with an altitude between 4,000 and 4,500 feet above the sea, lies between two mighty mountain ranges, the Tian Shan on the north and the Kuen Lung on the south. Both these names have the same meaning, the Mountains

that reach unto Heaven. With the exception of a few localities in the river and alpine valleys and districts under artificial irrigation, 90 per cent. of the area is occupied by sandy wastes, salt pans and stony mountains.

Now that the frontiers of the Soviet Union are to all intents and purposes closed, it would be hard to find a spot on the surface of the earth more difficult of access. The road from India on the south is the highest and most exhausting in the world, passable only with pack animals, over the heights of the Himalayas, Western Tibet, the lofty plateau of the Karakoram and the range of Kuen Lung. From the east, the road from China proper, the traveller must ride for months over the endless deserts of Central Asia. Even aeroplanes cannot reach this outlying spot; they would have to fly over a formidable barrier of crests with passes from 12,000 to 19,000 feet above sea level.

Strange to say, in this isolated desert Nature has lavished huge deposits of many highly-important minerals, a great potential source of wealth which to-day has more than theoretical interest. Remoteness has now lost much of its significance, and on the northerly side there is a pass over the Tian Shan where there would be no great difficulty in constructing a railway, so the door is open at least to Russia, for it is not the obstacles made by Nature that hinder the development of these great resources, but those created by the folly of mankind—the existence on the one side of an empire committed to a policy of world revolution, and on the other the anarchical condition of China. There is a definite practical importance in the question, for the development of the mineral wealth of Chinese Turkestan is only a question of time.

II.

Along the northern border of the valley of Ferghaná, in Western, or Russian, Turkestan, there is a series of sandstones and marls of unknown age, the so-called Naukat beds, which contain native copper of remarkable

purity. This narrow copper belt runs right through into the eastern portion of Chinese Turkestan, extending along the northern frontier as far as the city of Urumchi, a distance of over 1,000 miles. At the easterly end it is varied by the presence of a conglomerate known as the Artysh Series, referred by Bogdanovich to the Pliocene Epoch. They have been worked to a certain extent by the Chinese at Kanjigan, to the west of Kashgar, at Kucha (Kuchar), at the mouth of the Terek, between Yagh Aryk and Bai, at Urumchi and a few other localities. The Kanjigan ore is a carbonate impregnating the sandstone and limestone breccia, malachite, cuprite and copper glance. The black oxide has the appearance of charcoal and the structure of organic tissue, evidently deposited from solution by the action of vegetable matter. In the Kanjigan mine the copper is smelted in the most primitive fashion: the ore is packed in holes dug in the ground, in layers with charcoal, the mouth closed with bricks, without any flux, and the draught is induced by hand-worked goat-skin bellows. About 300 men are employed. The ore, running from 20 to 30 per cent. of copper, is worked on the surface only, as they are afraid to sink shafts for fear of collapse of the sides. As a matter of fact, fatal accidents are common enough as it is. The copper is used for coinage in the mint in Kashgar.

As in Russian Turkestan, there runs parallel with this a thick series of conglomerates, marls, sandstones and limestones of Eocene age characterized by *Exogyra kaufmanni*, Rom. Through it runs an oil-bearing bed and in places there are seepages at the outcrop. This interesting and important horizon, beginning in Spain, runs through France, the Balkans, Mesopotamia, Persia and Turkestan into Western China, where it extends over a distance of 1,000 English miles. Through almost its entire length it contains either signs of oil, as in Spain, small quantities of it, as in France, or really important deposits, as in Mesopotamia, Persia and

Turkestan. But the greatest development of petroliferous beds in this belt is reached in Chinese Turkestan, both in abundance of springs and quality of the oil. It is worked to the west of Kashgar at a place called Kusheiku, near the city of Ak Su, and at Kucha. It is simply distilled for lamp oil and burns excellently in the native *chiraks* without any purification. Like the oil of Russian Turkestan, it has a high content of paraffin wax. At Kashgar, near Ming Yul, the oil contains a considerable proportion of benzine. At Kucha it is of a light yellow colour, precipitating on freezing an almost pure white paraffin wax. There is also, cropping out in several localities in Kashgaria but not worked anywhere, a deposit of ozokerit or rock wax. That of Kucha is of a purity remarkable in a natural product, hardly distinguishable from artificial wax. There can be no doubt that these deposits of oil will one day play a very important part in the life of Siberia and the Far East.

Chinese Turkestan is also rich in good coking coal. Seams occur in limestones of carboniferous age, also along the northern side of the province. It is mined to the west of Yangi Hissar, and an excellent bed of coal occurs in the neighbourhood of the copper ore of Kanjigan, of which the Chinese make coke by primitive methods. The whole of the district is rich in useful minerals, including a good lead ore with considerable silver content, but the Chinese cannot work this. From Upal, in the same district, samples of antimony ore were brought me, and also native sulphur. At the village of Tashmalyk there are beds of fireclay from which the Chinese make crucibles for smelting their silver, copper and gold. In the bazaar at Kashgar I saw unworked specimens of corundum, garnet, spinel and nephrite. Between Kashgar and Urumchi, near the post of Kumysh, there is a vein of pegmatite containing pure white and brownish mica in sheets of 1 foot square and more.

In the neighbourhood of Kucha saltpetre is worked, and also alum and a zinc mineral known as *zamcha*,

the resultants of natural fires in the coal beds, which have given rise to the stories of the existence in Central Asia of active volcanoes. These are referred to in the Report of the Forsyth Mission of 1875, where there is an allusion to "a salt of zinc called *zamch* which is used as a mordant with alum in dyeing." This is interesting in view of the statements of the old Arab geographers about the coal of Ferghaná in Russian Turkestan, that "the ash is used for bleaching and dyeing fabrics." It seemed strange that coal ash should be used for such a purpose, but when I analysed a sample from the Shurab mines, the very one described by old Ibn Khaukal, I found zinc. Probably the coal burning at Kucha is the same as that of Shurab.

III.

On the southern side there is no less richness. In the crest of the Kuen Lung, in the syenite, gneiss, micaceous and hornblende schists, there runs a seam of a peculiar white mineral, upwards of 40 feet in thickness, in which occur lumps and veins and stringers of nephrite. This is the only place in the world where this precious stone is met with in the form of veins workable in the ordinary way, occurring elsewhere only sporadically, in the form of rolled pebbles. The chief centre for mining it is near Shahidullah. There are two varieties, light green and pure white, the latter the so-called "tallow jade" so highly prized by the Chinese. Another large mine is situated to the south of Khotan, yielding a somewhat darker stone. From here they have exported the biggest and most beautiful pieces of jade, including the famous tombstone of Koh Tash, which adorns the grave of Tamerlane at Samarkand.

Nephrite is the favourite stone of the Chinese, who call it *yui*, prizing it exceedingly, attributing to it magical and mysterious properties. Owing to its hardness and consistency, it lends itself to carving and making up into ornaments. To-day its exploitation is

in a marked decline. At the time of Yakub Bek, some 60 or 70 years ago, the most highly-skilled artists in jade disappeared.

The glory of Kuen Lung is in its goldfields, among the most remarkable in richness and extent in the world. They have been worked from time immemorial by the natives of Tibet and Western China; for the source of the gold, in the form of rich auriferous quartz veins, occurs on the crest of Kuen Lung itself, which forms the frontier between the two countries. On both sides work is carried on only on the surface, and is carefully concealed.

On the Chinese side, the greed of the Celestials exploiting the native miners and gold-workers, their ignorance and poverty, the low returns and primitive methods, and exactions of the Chinese administration, handicap the industry hopelessly, so much so indeed that the natives take good care to conceal any new discovery. Still, even to-day many thousands of men are employed on winning gold along the northern slopes of Kuen Lung, and the description of the Chinese travellers of the fourth and fifth centuries before Christ of the riches and gold of the cities and temples of this region, the ruins of which are now buried under the sands of Takla Makan, bear witness to the astonishing wealth of this country.

On the Tibetan side, gold is worked by the Dalai Lama, who finds in it his chief source of wealth and main motive for his policy of exclusion of foreigners, judging with every justification that the gold hunger of the civilized world would quickly sweep away his authority and place his country in the hands of strangers.

The reputation of these countries for immense wealth penetrated long since even to distant Russia. Peter the Great knew of it and contemplated the conquest of Little Bukhara, as Kashgaria was known in olden days, as far as the river Erketi, that is, the Yarkand Dariá.

In 1713, the Governor of Siberia, Prince Gagarin, sent a force against Little Bukhara under the command of Fyodor Trushnikoff, "to investigate the gold sands." They reached Kuku Nor and brought back highly important information and some fine samples of the gold. But the discoveries of the goldfields of Siberia and the Urals distracted the attention of later Tsars, and Peter's proposals were forgotten until the news of the riches of Kuen Lung, particularly of that part which was named "Russian," was brought back by the famous traveller, N. M. Prjevalski, discoverer of the wild horse of Mongolia. They were afterwards examined by the Russian geologist, Professor K. I. Bogdanovich.

With reference to the gold on the Tibetan side, I may quote Mr. Francis Skrine: "As to that goldfield I must say a few words, because I made some discoveries from the Tibetan side. That goldfield in the south of Kashgar or Chinese Turkestan beggars any previous deposits of gold that have ever been discovered; it is far richer than Klondyke, Australia or California. When this fact becomes known, there will be a rush absolutely without precedent. Neither the Chinese nor the Tibetans will be able to keep European gold-seekers away. . . . When I was in Dardjiling meditating a trip to Lhasa, I made some inquiries privately from the lamas, people who came to Darjiling from Tibet, and they told me that in the north-west of Tibet and on the south side of the range which my son has described, the deposits of gold are incredible. Tibet is governed with a rod of iron by the lamas, who employ slaves for three weeks during the summer to mine the gold, which is found 16,000 feet up, and is inaccessible all the rest of the year. These wretched creatures are driven up there and hurry back with sacks of very rich quartz. They are warned off pilfering by stories that the diggings are haunted by demons. . . . A Tibetan showed me a block about the size of my fist which had come from this region. I brought a small piece home and was told in Jermyn Street that it

represents something like four or five pounds of gold per ton." (*Journ. C. Asian Soc.*, xii., 1925, Part III, p. 247.)

The goldfields of Chinese Turkestan are situated in the centre of the Kuen Lung from the meridian of Lob Nor to Karangu-Tagh, and also extend farther to the west. Here, over an extent of 460 miles on the foot-hills and, in the ravines at altitudes ranging from 7,500 to 15,000 feet above the sea, there are 12 groups of placers, that is to say alluvial gold, occurring in beds of gravel and conglomerate. Then, by secondary remaniement of these old gravels by torrents, further deposits occur in recent alluvium.

The first group of old Post-Pliocene deposits consists of placers that have been carried a considerable distance, and others that have been transported far less and are situated, so to speak, on the top of the underlying strata, and thirdly, richest of all, those occurring almost at the original source, near the veins themselves from which they were washed, such as the placer of Akka-Tagh. In Post-Pliocene and recent conglomerates, gold is contained in the argillaceous sandy cement. The gold in these gravels and conglomerates arises from quartz veins cutting a series of metamorphic strata of argillaceous, quartzose and gabbro schists, closely associated with limestones well characterized by Devonian fossils. The schists are intersected by granite intrusions. The thickness of the auriferous beds reaches from two to three hundred feet. The average gold content of the relatively poor placers is not less than 8 grammes (5·3 dwt.) to the ton, but Professor Bogdanovich, taking into consideration only the coarse gold, considers the average contents to be about 14 grammes, that is 9·6 dwt., to the ton. An assay made from a sample from the Kopá showed 986 per mille, with specific gravity 18·5, a fineness remarkable in native gold. With this we may compare a single placer from the Urals which gave 989·6 per mille and a specific gravity of 19·1. Californian

gold has a specific gravity of 16·33 and a fineness of 972·24, while Siberian gold is as low as 800–850.

The auriferous sands of the foothills of the Kuen Lung and its ravines are exceedingly thick, and different horizons can be distinguished only by their gold content. Professor Bogdanovich considers the conditions favourable for hydraulicking.

In spite of the great age of the gold-working industry in this country, the native workings have scratched only an insignificant portion, either in depth or area; for they go down hardly deeper than four or five feet on account of their primitive methods, lack of tools, especially of picks and crowbars, to say nothing of pumps and windlasses. From year to year the natives continue to work in the same spots, without touching other virgin deposits of equal facility and richness, even alongside their own workings, according to Bogdanovich's report. In no place have they reached the bed rock. In cases where water is more than about two miles from the operations and cannot be brought there by canal, they have recourse to winnowing. But neither by washing nor winnowing can they recover anything but the coarse gold, everything smaller than a millet seed being lost. In some places the metal occurs in nuggets as big as peas, not infrequently of the size of a pigeon's egg, and occasionally really big ones are found, especially near the crest itself, as at Akka-Tagh. Every morning a handful of workers, who have made their way through all the obstacles of the climb to this lofty and inhospitable desert, open a fresh face and wash the auriferous sands. In the evening, having dug two or three feet, they leave it, because they cannot cope with the inflowing water. The next morning they begin a yard or two away, and so the process continues.

Operations here are possible only for two or three months in the year on account of the great altitude, 15,500 feet above the sea, severity of the climate, and distance from inhabited districts. The place is accessible

only for parties specially equipped, and involves a certain capital outlay which the poverty-stricken natives of Chinese Turkestan seldom command. In any case, a substantial outlay would be wasted, as the Chinese authorities would take away all the gold as soon as any serious quantity were obtained.

For serious operations, however, the Akka-Tagh placers offer conditions favourable enough. For pack animals the locality offers no obstacles. It is only a week's ride from the nearest village to Akka-Tagh. Though the winters are severe, there is but little snow. A very important factor is the existence to the north-east of the placers, not far from the township of Gas, of ample beds of excellent coal for heating and for generating steam for the workings. Between Gas and Akka-Tagh there are a few alpine pastures, grazed at present only by a few wild yak.

IV.

From the foregoing it is clear that the exploitation upon an industrial scale of the immense goldfields of Southern Kashgaria would have fewer obstacles to overcome than many of the Siberian fields, to say nothing of Klondyke and the Australian deserts.

It is evident, I think, that the Soviet Government is surreptitiously taking advantage of the helplessness of China to take possession of the apparently desert land of Eastern Turkestan, about which the Powers have only the most meagre information, without any conception of the world-wide importance which the country will have one of these days when open to European capital and methods.

There can be no doubt about the policy of the Soviet Government, and consequently of the Third International, once in possession of this immense wealth, with a foot firmly planted on the frontiers of China, Tibet and India.

The Old Prince

By Stella Benson

[*This is a character sketch of Count Nicolas de Toulouse Lautrec de Savine, the Russian Count, whose autobiography (edited by Miss Stella Benson) appeared in the February, March, April and May issues of* The English Review *last year.*

The full autobiography of the Count, edited by Miss Stella Benson, will be published by Messrs. Macmillan in April under the title "Pull Devil, Pull Baker."]

THE old prince arrived with nothing in his pockets but stories. It would be difficult to say how many of his stories were true, but since he was a symbol—not only in our eyes, but in his own—to insist on literal truth would be ungracious. He was a walking Disraeli novel, an ambulant bundle of completely imaginary reminiscences. He heroically disregarded the necessity that hampers most of us picturesque rememberers—the craving for some slight foundation in fact. For most of us it would suffice if a great man once said to us: "Good Lord—can't one get *anything* fit to eat in this damn pub?"—in those winged words we should find the nucelus of our story; posterity might well feel defrauded if memory and imagination erected no edifice but the dull truth upon such a rock as this. But the old prince went a step further than this. He decided once and for all that he had met *everybody* of distinction in the world, and that *everybody* had said or done something interesting.

Selection complicates the task of the rememberer; it is simpler, besides being more sensational, to deny no great name. "Tolstoi? I knew him intimately—I got this scar in a duel with him. . . . Queen Victoria? Yes, she was my first valentine. . . . Florence Nightingale? Why, of course—the dear girl used to wash out my shirts for me while I was convalescent in the Crimea. . . . The Grand Lama of Tibet? He and I went up Mount Everest together in '71. . . . Charlemagne? Oh, yes, my great uncle was his chief of staff. . . ." etc., etc. Nevertheless,

very catholic memories imply a catholic experience. To take an ell one must at least have been given the first inch; nobody could tell a good fish story without having caught at least a minnow. There is no smoke without fire—no hot air without a spark of flame somewhere. It was likely that the old prince had actually lived through quite one per cent. of the great doings he described. Stories were his currency; he paid—or tried to pay—for everything with stories. To himself he seemed like a free man paying his way generously: "You can have it, my dear madame—take it and enjoy it, it is a story which will make you grand sansation. I have planty more stories in my haid—I can spare this one." Or sometimes he said: "I give you here a story; you can please give me ten dollars"—just as one might say: "Can you give me small change for a ten-dollar note?"

Being without a cent seemed to him as little disconcerting as being without dried beans might be to you or me; he felt as confident as a millionaire. His eighty odd years were no burden to him; collectively he called them experience; they were so many stories to him; they were his capital. Wavering along with strained uneven strides, his long, stained beard flying, gesticulating with his trembling old hands that were patched with those blotted dingy freckles that mark the hands of old age, he was completely impervious to all incredulity or mockery or indifference. "I am a most experimenced man, I shall be most useful to any king or government," he said, when consuls expressed reluctance to grant him visas for further aimless wanderings. "You do not welcome Russians—yes—but Russian Cavalry Officer of high aristocratic family is different. My military experimence is necessary to any government suffering from uprisings of the common loo people. I can ride—I can command armies—I can direct secret services. . . ." Consuls—charitable committees—policemen—looked incredulously, listened incredulously, hearing that braggart immature voice proceeding from the aged, trembling, dirty, destitute

body before them. The voice was a mistake, they thought their ears were deceiving them; here was nothing but an old beggar—worse still, a *Russian* beggar—from Russia where the Bolsheviks come from.

The old prince marvelled how blind everyone was, as he tramped shakily from consulate to workhouse, from workhouse to police-court, from police-court to charitable committee. Certainly he needed food, money, housing and clothes—he was human, after all, he thought, but what a splendid specimen of humanity! Even while he lived on charity in mission hospitals, he felt himself a giver, not a taker, he was an honoured guest privileged to complain of the food and to press succulent beardy kisses on the reluctant chaste hands of lady almoners. "Send news of my stay here to the newspapers—it will make grand sansation," he said to the old pauper in the next bed, and he was conscious of himself as an evergreen tree growing glamorously in this forest of sere dead boughs. The truth was that events did not affect him; the pressure of circumstances did not mould him at all. He did not remember himself as having been young any more than he now recognized himself as being old. He reconstructed himself even in babyhood as an adventurer in the forefront of the world's sensational affairs; he was active in the Crimean campaign, it seemed, though he could hardly have been six years old at the time, and now, at over eighty, he was an adventurer still and a new world of adventure lay always just before him—although his actual current adventures were limited to such thrills as sordid deportations, or a couple of nights in the cells as a vagrant, or a scolding from the workhouse infirmary sister because he had spilt his soup on his clean night-shirt. Nobody wanted him anywhere; police deported him almost on sight; he travelled steerage here and there, always compulsorily—only to be refused permission to land at each new destination. He was not humiliated by these experiences. "I have made one more grand sansation there," he said as he was dumped severely

back in his steerage quarters to be returned as undesirable to a port that had already expressed a desire only to be rid of him.

With sinking hearts, committees for helping the destitute would see once more his tall, bowed form towering in the queues of those waiting to be interviewed. "What—again?" "I have had interesting and sansational experimences since last I seen you, mesdames. I have here a very good story, which will show you. . . . I now think I will go to Siam. I have an invitation from the king of Siam—one of my most dear friends." Harassed committees heaved sighs of incredulous relief. "An invitation from the king of Siam! Produce it, please." "Not yet quite received, certainly," said the prince, as a concession to the obtuseness of people who only consider accomplished facts as facts at all. "I have written to him, naturally. He is a most dear friend, he will be enchanted." And a most dear friend the king of Siam continued to be in the old man's stories—even though no breath of royal Siamese reply, greeting, or invitation was ever received. "Pay my journey to Siam, please mesdames. I wish to pay visit to my friend." A hopeless case, the philanthropists thought dubiously. Better send him back to the pauper's infirmary. . . .

At the infirmary, on a little iron pauper bed, he lay as though poised for flight. "The Charity ladies do not wish to pay so much as a journey to Siam, yes, no? Then let them pay my journey to Indo-China. There the French suffer from communist disturbance. My Imperial Cavalry experimence will be most useful to the French Governor-General. The French consul has said this. He give me a glass of champagne and took my two hands and say, Monsieur le prince, you are the gentleman we needs in Indo-Chine. Bring me but five dollars—a mere formality—said the consul, and I will give you a visa and a letter of recommendation to the Governor-General." Surely lies can't be called lies when they are so fragile—so pathetically at the mercy of telephone verification.

"Dear prince, I have rung up the French consul and I am afraid you are mistaken. He says he will not dream of giving you a visa to Indo-China. No . . . er . . . Russian gentleman without funds to back them can be admitted to the French colonies."

"*Russian* gentleman? *American* citizen, you mean. Do the French refuse visas to American citizens?"

"American? But my dear prince—you are not an American citizen."

"But most certainly I am. President Roosevelt is my dear friend. Every American remembers the grand sansation I have make as American general in the Spanish-American War." He rummaged in a bursting and very greasy satchel and brought out three letters from Washington, D.C., one to say, in effect, "We cannot trace your application for citizenship in 1896," one to say, "We still cannot trace it," and the last to say, "Even if your application had been received and papers had been issued, your status as American citizen would have lapsed automatically about thirty years ago. Please address any further enquiries to the American consul nearest to where you reside." "There—you see—*the nearest America consul*"—he underscored the words with a long, dirty and unprincely thumbnail. "This shows you that they know I have American rights. Soon I shall hear from my friend President Roosvelt. . . . I have here, too, a letter of recommendation from a famous American bishop." He showed it. It said: "Dear Sir, I must ask you to cease importuning me for money, otherwise I shall be compelled to take steps to protect myself from this nuisance. I have given you a ticket to the —— Institute and done all I can for you, and I assure you that it is useless, etc., etc."

"Here is a letter from a famous editor of newspaper"—("Your manuscript is illegible and quite useless to us—like others you have sent us.") "And a card of recommendation from an American millionaire," added the prince, producing the muddy card of one Howard B.

Katzheimer—evidently picked up from a trampled wet wharf—" Bon Voyage, Madge dear—a few flowers with my love."

" I have many more recommendations," cried the prince, scratching with his long, trembling, knotted old claws in the satchel. A long sigh went round the ward. How tired the other paupers were of the sound of this splendid pauper's voice! " I have enough recommendations from kings and presidents and millionaires to let me journey to every country. Soon, when my stomach illness is better, I shall accept the invitation of my dear daughter who has married a prince of the royal blood in Spain, to go to Barcelona and put my experimence at the service of distressed Spanish royalists. But now, madame, can you please give me a dollar to buy oranges? The food here is not fitted for gentleman's stomach—only fitted for common loo people "; speaking at the top of his voice he waved his hand to indicate the other occupants of the ward, who muttered oaths. " So I must buy oranges—but I have not one cent—look! " He dramatically turned inside out the pockets of his tartan infirmary dressing-gown, and three dollars fifty cents fell loudly to the ground. " Not one cent," repeated the prince, picking up the money and replacing it in his pocket without the faintest embarrassment. " To-day I have ask the English doctor if I may go out and buy oranges and also pay visit to the Spanish consul—he will know me as dear friend of his master ex-king Alphonso. But the doctor say—' A few days more, prince—wait but a few little days more—before you journey on. . . .' "

A few days more—and a few little days to follow—and a few little days more after that. It seemed that there was a sound like the turning of a key in a lock, hidden in the words. Days grow into weeks, weeks into months, months into years—and how many years can be spared at the end of a life of eighty odd years. The mysterious bars of cold public charity were closing round the old winged prince; he would never fly again now; his

only wings were words; he spread out his fine-plumed phrases and preened himself in a sunlight of illusory freedom—but he would never be free again. All destinations turned their backs upon him, all horizons receded and faded away to the consistency of dreams. He was caught in a trap made of his years, his lies, his follies, and the inexorable kindness of other people. To-morrow perhaps he would, indeed, be given permission to go out of the infirmary to buy an orange—next week he would be indulgently allowed to go and tell a few stories to a bored vice-consul—next month one might find him out again, cadging a sheet of notepaper and an envelope from a good-natured stationer, that he might write a letter to a king—(" He will invite me to accept a court job, monsieur, next week I shall begin the journey—there will be grand sansation in the newspapers.") These sallies would be the last spasms of a trapped creature; after each moment of illusory freedom, he must return to his clean, kind, bleak prison, drawn by that implaccable octopus suction that charity exerts upon the destitute. He would come out, he would return, at a slower and slower pace, a wispy, dingy, snuffy old prisoner, weighed down by some little parcel of treasure, some worthless gift to himself, some last tribute to his own splendid difference —apartness—particularity. Rich with a new story, perhaps, and a cadged pound of oranges, he would climb the magnetic steps of charity again, and disappear in the dark doorway.

Feeding Ourselves

By G. C. Heseltine

AT the beginning of this century the axiom of the Manchester School that we cannot feed ourselves off our own land was so widely accepted that any contradiction of it invoked derision. At the heart of all industrial and free trade policy this axiom was fixed firm and immovable. On it was built the belief that our existence depended on our being the "Workshop of the World" and paying for food imports with exports of manufactures.

These are truisms. The facts we have now to face. From whatever cause we have failed to remain the "Workshop of the World," we have failed to pay for the food we import by the manufactures we export. That failure is the chief symptom of our present economic crisis. The principal danger in the crisis, the thing that makes it a crisis, is the ultimate threat of starvation. We are beginning to turn our attention to the restoration of agriculture, to an attempt to feed ourselves, if not wholly, at least more than we have cared to do in the recent past. Here and there one finds the opinion expressed or taken for granted that we can wholly or largely feed ourselves. That opinion is not now so readily derided. Optimism or reason is allowing it to gain ground, although it was so emphatically and universally denied twenty years ago that even Conservatives and agriculturists abandoned it. It is interesting to observe that no particular new statement of the case, no widely publicized statistics, have brought about this change.

The remarkable pamphlet published in 1923, "The Possibilities of British Agriculture," by Sir E. J. Russell, D.Sc., F.R.S., and Sir Henry Rew, K.C.B., introduced by Lord Bledisloe, created no particular stir at that time and has by now probably been forgotten. In this pamphlet it was shown that the total food supply of the country cost approximately £639,000,000, of which £250,900,000 was raised at home. In 1925, Sir Daniel

Hall estimated that we could produce another £250,000,000 of foodstuffs if we wished.

Since this is almost exactly equivalent to the imports of foreign foodstuffs (as distinct from British or Empire), it would go a long way towards making us self-supporting in foodstuffs. It would double our own present output, with enormous effect on the chief home industry and the unemployment problem. Sir Daniel Hall's estimate was substantiated in general terms when Lord Reay's Committee on Agricultural Education expressed the opinion that we could produce " a large proportion " of our food imports.

Lest what follows should appear to lay too much stress on increasing our cereal crops and not enough in the increase of livestock, in contrast to Lord Lymington's preference for the contrary policy in his articles in the recent issues of THE ENGLISH REVIEW, it should be made clear that we are here concerned with possibilities and not with policies, beyond the general policy of increasing food-production. It may or may not be expedient to devote most of our energies to livestock in the near future. We cannot neglect to improve our arable farming, however much we decide to depend on the dominions for our cereals. There is something to be said for reducing dependence on imports, both of meat and cereals, to a minimum. As for Lord Lymington's most proper suspicion of mechanization and large-scale farming, the methods of increasing cereal production indicated below are independent of both.

As bearing more directly on the present enquiry, it is useful to have Lord Lymington's opinion that we could produce ourselves £200,000,000 of the £220,000,000 of livestock products, fruit and vegetables that we normally import, and that after allowing for £50,000,000 for imported animal feeding-stuffs, we would still be £150,000,000 nearer to living inside our earned income.

The chief ways in which we can increase our food production were summarized by Russell and Rew as:

(1) increasing the area under cultivation; (2) intensifying the production of individual crops; (3) combining crops into better and more suitable productive systems than those now in use. More optimistic than these experts, Professor Long estimated that we have still twelve-and-three-quarter million acres, usable for agriculture, that is unused or almost unused.

But it is in the second of Russell and Rew's categories that there appears to be most scope. So far as cereals are concerned, they gave the interesting information :—

1912–21	Bushels per acre Yield.	Good farmer expects.	Highest recorded.
Wheat -	30·7	40–50	96
Barley -	30·8	40–50	90
Oats - -	38·3	60–80	121

Thus it would seem that there is scope for almost doubling our cereal yield, certainly increasing it by 50 per cent., without adding a rood to the acreage. In 1918, under the stimulus of a ploughing order, we had 2,636,000 acres under wheat and grew 10,932,000 quarters (33·12 bushels to the acre). The acreage under wheat in 1930 was 1,346,150, and we produced rather less than one-fifth of our needs. Professor John Wrightson has estimated that we could bring our wheat-growing area up to 8,000,000 acres. On that basis alone we could more than meet our needs. It is interesting to note that as far back as 1844 we fed 24,000,000 with home-grown wheat (C. Bathurst, *Times*, June 8, 1914).

We may consider wheat a sound index of our general food-producing possibilities, though we may not, if we are stock-raisers, go so far as Mr. F. N. Blundell in "A New Policy for Agriculture": "All discussions on agriculture converge sooner or later on wheat . . . it is the basic crop on which agricultural prosperity—and therefore our ability to feed ourselves—should primarily be built up." Nevertheless, wheat remains a basis of rotation for the stock-raiser and dairy-farmer.

It may be objected here that we cannot grow wheat

suitable in quality for modern milling requirements, but even that problem is in sight of solution, as will be shown below.

If we consider other foods than wheat the possibilities are not less. For example, we have already increased our production of poultry and eggs (a much more important item than many imagine, at present worth more than our whole cereal crop) from 32 per cent. of our needs pre-war to 45 per cent. of our present needs. In this case there is no doubt whatever that we can be self-supporting, and poultry can not only be farmed successfully on land unsuitable for anything else, but in some instances without any land at all beyond that covered by the poultry-house.

To revert to the pamphlet, Russell and Rew estimated that the loss to crops through plant diseases is at least 10 per cent.—a loss that can be largely, though not wholly, eliminated.

When the pamphlet was published (1923), on the average 52 per cent. of the land in four-course rotation was in permanent grass and 48 per cent. in arable cultivation. Sir T. H. Middleton has shown ("Food Production in War," 1923) that food production could be greatly increased by raising the proportion of arable land, even if no other improvement were adopted, and without in any way modifying the four-course rotation. According to Russell and Rew again, Northumbrian farmers using a five-course rotation obtain the same quantity of roots and corn (as one put it) and have in hand a field of hay. In this connection we may recall that Cobden, in 1844, quoted Ogilvy (as the leading authority in his day) to the effect that "Cheshire if properly cultivated is capable of producing three times as much as is now produced from its surface"—that was when we grew enough wheat to feed twenty-four million people. We have no reason to believe that Cheshire was singular among the agricultural counties or that the statement is any less true to-day.

But the statistical aspect of this matter is far from the whole story, hence it is proposed to consider here some aspects that are not expressible in terms of exact figures, and are, therefore, commonly disregarded by statisticians and economists. The Manchester School and its economists appear to have convinced the country by figures that it could not feed itself; figures, as much as anything, account for the confusion amongst economists. We need not entirely despise them, we cannot wisely do so. It is sufficient to recognize their limitations.

When it was said that we could not feed ourselves off our land, it could have been said with more regard for truth and accuracy, but with less effect, that we did not want so to feed ourselves, or that such a policy did not pay, and, therefore, we did not want to adopt it. We need not trouble here to contradict the more rash and extreme statement of those who have stated that we are prevented from feeding ourselves by the insuperable physical difficulty of our insufficient area of suitable land. Even that was widely believed, though easily disproved. We need not attempt to disprove it in detail now because whatever estimates of yield per acre were made in that connection have been rendered worthless by our acquired power of increasing that yield, to an unknown extent.

Whatever we could do at the beginning of this century has no bearing on what we can do now. This power of gaining an increased yield from the land cannot be estimated in figures because it is steadily and certainly being extended every day. The effects of one discovery alone are nothing short of amazing in extent. The work of Gregor Mendel in heredity was unknown until the beginning of this century. Even then for some years its application and value to agriculture was not guessed at. It has given us a new conception of individual living things, plant and animal, as collections of separate factors that are separately transmitted—one might almost

say as distinct entities—from one generation to another. We have been able to analyse these separate factors in such a way that we can mix them and re-sort them in the species almost at will.

So that we have been able to combine in one variety of wheat, breeding true, several characters previously found only in many different wheats and thus solve the problem of providing a home-grown substitute for the hard imported wheats.

Professor Biffen's researches in this direction have already yielded important results in the course of a few years. It was a common statement that England was not suitable for wheat-growing because the soil and climatic conditions were against the profitable production of wheats such as Red Fife, which is the basis of the supply known as Manitoba Hard, whose quality is reckoned essential to the production of the standard of loaf in demand. Red Fife is a poor cropper, has poor straw, is too susceptible to yellow rust, but it has the requisite "strength"; Square Head's Master crops well here, but lacks strength, and we depend on the imported wheat to mix with it for milling. Professor Biffen and the Plant Breeding Research Institute therefore produced, on Mendelian lines, the Yeoman wheats. English-grown Red Fife, Canadian Manitoba Hard, and Yeoman II gave, on test, two-pound loaves of volumes 3,475 cc., 3,275 cc., and 3,325 cc. respectively. That is to say, Yeoman II is as strong as the others. Moreover, it crops as well as Square Head's Master or any of the ordinary run of English wheats. Crops of ten quarters to the acre are not uncommon—there is an authenticated case of twelve quarters to the acre.

Again, according to Professor Biffen, Yeoman II has been found suitable for intensive cultivation and "judging solely from the crops raised on the experimental farm it would appear that *soil conditions have little effect on its yielding capacity*, provided that the crop is not handicapped by inadequate food supplies." Indeed,

one of the factors that decided whether Yeoman II should be put on the market, in preference to a similar wheat of its class, was the heaviness of its crops " on soil on which few farmers would risk growing wheat on account of its lightness and over-sharp drainage." The great gain here must be added to the possibilities of increased quantity production already suggested. Professor Biffen appears to have been reasonably modest in his estimates. Russell and Rew say that he has obtained yields 10 per cent. better than before.

In the case of oats also, at Newton Rigg it has been shown that some of the newer sorts, produced on Mendelian lines, will yield up to 70 bushels per acre against 45 bushels obtained under identical conditions from the potato-oat commonly grown in the county.

In the same way knowledge of Mendelian inheritance enables us to increase the size and weight of individual seeds, not only of wheat but of other cereals and leguminous plants; and the increased production gained by this method is independent of area—it is an increase on the very plant itself, in its inherent quality, which is a thing apart from, though of course modified by, even cultivation, manuring, or labour employed. The gain is as yet unmeasurable, though undoubtedly great, and it will be greater. It is something beyond any calculations the Manchester School ever made.

Not only does this single discovery of Mendel apply to cereals and vegetables, but it applies, though not so rapidly, to cattle and poultry. Milk yield, beef quality, egg yield, the sizes of pig litters, are all now considered in terms of Mendelian factors, controllable and, therefore, capable of hitherto unsuspected improvement. In the past thirty years great advances have been made in the average production of such valuable foods as milk and eggs. The two-thousand-gallon cows and two-hundred-egg hens are now commonplace. Yet the advances here have not been gained so much by the application of Mendelism as by the great strides made in the matter of

nutrition and management. We now feed stock both less wastefully and more productively—efficiency of production has been enormously increased and there is no reason to believe that we have yet seen more than the beginnings of our gains in this direction.

If the mere statement of great gains is not sufficiently impressive without figures, consider the single instance of "sex-linkage" in poultry. Geneticists (principally Professor R. C. Punnett, F.R.S.) have investigated the inheritance of colour in fowls, which at first sight appears to have no connection with food production or our capacity to increase it. But, owing to the fact that in most breeds of poultry the sexes are indistinguishable on hatching, breeders who wanted pullets only for laying purposes have had to rear both sexes together for six to eight weeks before they could begin to separate them and get rid of the unwanted cockerels. This meant double the housing, heat, labour, and food that would be expended if pullets only were being reared. It was observed, in the light of the Mendelian conception of the fowl, that in certain breeds the factor for colour was "sex-linked," that what is known as a "gold" male crossed with a "silver" female, gives progeny that are "silver" males and "gold" females, distinguishable by their down-colour immediately on hatching. The males can be destroyed or sold for rearing for table purposes, and the egg-producer has effected a rearing economy which enables him to rear double the quantity of pullets in the same space as before. It eliminates waste and must ultimately increase and cheapen the egg yield. The matter went further. As it stood, pure-bred stock was required for the "cross," and the process could not be repeated beyond the first-cross progeny. Professor Punnett set to work on Mendelian lines and evolved a new breed which has this sex-linkage so arranged that you can go on breeding with it and always distinguish the sexes at birth. He will furnish the breed with the requisite characters for high fecundity. In due course

we may well have a whole lot of breeds, carrying the various distinctive features of type and table quality, and so forth, all distinguishable at hatching. It does not need an expert or a statistician to see that in this instance alone the potential gain to our food-producing capacity is very great.

Similarly science has contributed to the advance of tillage, of manuring, and of drainage. Once more to quote Russell and Rew: "The fuller use of lime on land . . . reduces the power required by up to 10 per cent., and even 15 per cent.," and "the judicial use of fertilizers will add 10 per cent. to 20 per cent. to the crop at relatively low cost." And to suggest yet another possibility, of a most unlikely kind, Professor V. H. Blackman has shown that the discharge of a small quantity of high-tension electricity over a growing crop may cause increase in the yield as high as 20 per cent.

So that the potential food production per acre, in the light of our present knowledge alone, bears no relation to the estimates upon which it was argued that we could not feed ourselves.

The technical advance in mechanical matters in the manufacturing industries is always regarded as the great triumph of our age. Yet scientists have not confined all their attention to mechanized industries. They have been equally interested in agriculture, and almost equally successful there. But the material rewards have been greatest in the workshops and it is, therefore, not unreasonable to suppose that the progress made on the land, so greatly discouraged by small returns and the State's neglect of agriculture, would be very much greater under more favourable conditions. As the matter stands, even such discoveries as have been made to enable us to increase the efficiency of our food production, are made use of in a half-hearted fashion or wasted by neglect. If we are so proud of the achievements of science in the workshops, why do we neglect to take advantage of science in the field? There is no need to repeat the

folly of mass-production and large scale machinery; the scientists are quite capable of great achievements in small units.

In a different sphere we have the increased possibilities of production on small holdings and in gardens. Every government in this century has had its small-holdings schemes, none has treated the matter seriously. Nevertheless, there is a constant demand for holdings and constant effort is being made on them. Where they have failed we have the experience of those failures to work upon. Most have not failed. Even where holdings have failed from the small-holder's point of view, they have been of national value. They have always given a higher yield per acre in foodstuffs than any other form of agriculture. Small-holding and garden cultivation is as yet practically untried. We have further vast possibilities in the use of glass. We have neglected and nearly exterminated that very valuable beast the goat, the poor man's cow. How many people know that a properly tended, decently bred goat will give a gallon of rich tubercle-free milk a day? The goat, and the goose, too, can get a living on rough grazings that are at present wasted, they need only care and a small supplementary ration to give the best results. All these sources of valuable food we have neglected in the general neglect of agriculture, until we have forgotten that they exist. Until we exploit them extensively, we cannot begin to say that we cannot feed ourselves.

We have come to the point when the workshops have ceased to work. Some of them will never work again. Whatever effort we may expend in regaining foreign markets, some of them can never be regained, and many of our best customers are now and henceforth competitors. We used to export woollen yarns to Poland, for example, but in the years 1927–30 the quantities have fallen (in 000's lbs.) 2,078,—1,183,—626,—377, because Poland is spinning her own yarns, as any traveller who peddles his wares there will confirm. We used to export

our cotton goods to British India, but the position is as follows (in millions square yards) :—

1913	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930
2,805	1,565	1,653	1,542	1,374	778 (approx.)

the reason is clear if we look at the manufactures of cotton goods in British India.

000's cwts.

1913	1926	1927	1928	1929
2,446	4,721	5,117	3,892	4,903

We are not only losing our markets abroad, but we are losing our home-markets to the foreign manufacturers who have the advantage of lower production costs. For instance, we *imported* manufactured cotton goods (made where we used to sell) during the years 1923–9 (in millions square yards) as follows :—

1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929
32	41	55	56	72	82	83

whilst the total exports of our own manufactured goods in the same years fell as follows :—

1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929
1,300	1,515	1,384	1,204	1,302	1,084	1,033

to countries that are all learning to manufacture for themselves. Looking at the position in general, the exports, for another example, of woollen goods from Great Britain, compared with three competitors who were once customers, tell the same tale :—

000's cwts.

	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929
Great Britain	2,293	1,802	1,630	1,952	1,876	1,741
Germany -	470	482	567	702	746	725
Italy - -	196	227	221	236	260	270
Czecho-slovakia -	335	341	335	444	436	423

The thing could not go on indefinitely. It does not need an economist to see that if you sell a man the machinery for making a thing, he will not in future buy the

thing from you. When he has learned to make the machinery, he will not even buy the machinery from you. And if he does not buy machinery from you, you cannot buy food from him with that machinery. The matter is so plain that one is almost ashamed to state the facts. Whether we can feed ourselves or not we are now forced to try. If the present danger, like that of war, is the threat of starvation, we are weak in proportion to the force of that threat. Whether or not we can ever remove the fear of starvation entirely, every extra ounce of food we produce reduces it.

Our bargaining strength in the economic readjustments that must precede any approach to normality will be measured by the extent of our power to feed ourselves, be it little or great. There are strong grounds for believing that we can wholly feed ourselves if *we wish to do so*. If we have not wished to do so in the past "because it did not pay," we may wish to do so now that we find that the alternative does not pay.

The Problem of World-Jewry

By Kenneth Williams

THE recrudescence of anti-Semitic feeling which has been one of the features of the post-War years came to a head in the earlier part of March, when the Hitlerites, who, long before they assumed power, had made perfectly clear their attitude towards the Jews of Germany, showed in quite unmistakable fashion that they regard the Jews, taken *en bloc*, as a parasitical growth upon the German body politic. A certain number of Jews crossed the borders of Germany, thus completing the exodus which had begun with the flight of their capital.

The Germans have always been the most anti-Semitic nation among the Western European Powers. From the days of Bismarck they have adduced their own special reasons for disliking the Jew in their midst. Scientifically, these reasons were in great measure erroneous. German anthropologists, like German historians, were not incapable of bending or ignoring facts. Since the War, however, actual, as opposed to theoretical, reasons for antipathy have been preferred.

The Nazis have openly asserted—and that a large section of the German people is disposed to agree with them is scarcely open to doubt—that the Jew in Germany originated and has since exploited the national disaster, that he has transformed the idealism of the Germans into un-German materialism, that he has placed the interests of the international proletariat above the interests of the German people, that he has thought only in terms of money, that the Jewish-controlled Press of Germany has had secret affiliations with the Bolshevists, and that from all the misfortunes which have overtaken the German people the relentless Jew has escaped, strengthening his power, in the country, on the internal dissensions. To the despiritualization and disintegration with which, in their opinion, Germany was thus threatened, the Nazis are resolved to put an end.

It is, as I have said, no new phenomenon, this hatred

of the Jew. What is new is its post-War intensification among a cultured people. To understand the background of this Jewish problem, which, of course, is not confined to Germany, it must first be remembered that out of the Anti-Semitism of last century—a sentiment obtaining in a large part of Europe, not to mention America—the movement known as Zionism was born. Will this movement be sufficient, as its originators hoped, to stay the course of anti-Semitism?

Now, Zionism is not fundamentally a religious movement, a movement for the propagation or refinement of Judaism. No one, indeed, who has been in at all close contact with that movement could possibly have any doubts on that score. Rabbis certainly have no undue influence among Zionist settlers in Palestine. Zionism is a national movement, a striving to renationalize the Jews, who, as a result of the Diaspora, have become denationalized: it is an attempt, if you like, to put the clock back some two thousand years. No man can be a real Zionist who denies that the Jews are a nation: Zionism and Jewish Nationalism are in effect synonymous terms, however much recent developments in the Holy Land—which prove the impossibility of the Jews ever obtaining a numerical majority therein—may have tended to obscure the truth of this saying.

Not everyone, however, who wishes to preserve Judaism is a Zionist. There are both "reactionary" and "liberal" forces in Jewry which want to preserve Judaism but are far from being Zionist. At this moment a vast endeavour is being made, largely as an answer to the anti-Jewish feeling and acts in Germany and elsewhere in Europe and to the enforced decay of Judaism in Russia, to emphasize the essential unity of world-Jewry, and at the same time to enlist the help of Christendom in raising the status and condition of Jews in certain Christian countries. It is an endeavour conducted under the auspices of the American Jewish Congress, which comprises both Zionists and non-Zionists.

Last August a world Jewish Conference was "staged" at Geneva by this American Jewish Congress. It was decided, *inter alia*, to elect a "Jewish World Parliament" in 1934.

But world-Jewry is not a unity, and can never be made into a unity. The process of denationalization has gone too far. That sympathy of fortunate Jew with unfortunate Jew exists is natural enough and not to be denied; but any common plan of development, any agreement to adopt a certain attitude in given conditions, any concerted intention, even, is lacking in Jewry at large. The Zionists have tried with tireless propaganda to assert the oneness of the Jewish race; they have failed. Anthropologically and actually, it is a myth.

Renan has defined the cohesive principle of modern nationalities in words which are generally accepted as comprehensive. It consists, he says, in the "actual consent, the desire to live together, the will to preserve worthily the undivided inheritance which has been handed down." Could that possibly be made to apply to the Jews? Again, Renan says: "A nation is a great solidarity, constituted by the sacrifices that its citizens have made, and of those that they feel prepared to make once more. It implies a past; but it is summed up by a tangible fact—consent, the clearly-expressed desire to live a common life."

Can the Jews conceivably come into such a category? I write here as a realist, unconcerned for the moment with legal fictions. It is, of course, quite true that the principle of Jewish nationality (which presumably implies the existence of a Jewish nation) is recognized in international law. The Minorities of the various Peace Treaties, for example, refer to the Jews: the Mandate for Palestine speaks of the establishment of a "National Home" for the Jewish people. It has even been argued (Stoyanovsky, *Mandate for Palestine*) that "for the Jews all over the world, as long as they remain Jews and keep their national characteristics, there is but one

nationality, namely, the Jewish nationality." Such niceties, however, rather obscure than help towards a solution, if such there be, of the real problem of world-Jewry. It might be well if there were a Jewish nationality, in the same sense as there is a French nationality, a German nationality, an Italian nationality; but in fact there is not. Even in the Holy Land, where alone, it is claimed, the "hundred per cent." Jew can lead a free existence, in the pursuit of a purely Hebrew civilization, the Jew is not of Jewish nationality; for if he choose to renounce the nationality of the land whence he immigrated into Palestine, he adopts, not Jewish nationality, but Palestinian nationality. And it should be remembered, in this connection, that the Arabs of Palestine, who constitute the great majority of the population of the Holy Land, automatically changed their nationality, as a result of the war, from that of Ottoman to that of Palestinian. Even among those boasting of Palestinian nationality, therefore, the Jew stands no chance, at any rate in the numerical sense, of becoming dominant.

Now, since for the fifteen million Jews in the world all to become Jewish Nationalists in Palestine, which according even to the most optimistic Zionists could harbour but one or two million Jews, is an impossibility, it might appear that Assimilation is the only solution for the vast mass of this people. But can the Jew be completely assimilated? Can he become entirely at one with the folk among whom he lives? Can he, that is, not merely earn his livelihood among them, but actually think also with them, feel with them, experience and evince the same spiritual loyalty? And if not, will there not always be the danger of friction?

To generalize here is perilous. In far too many countries the Jews are in revolt against, or at least out of harmony with, the mass of the inhabitants, for it to be said categorically that the solution of Assimilation is the ideal solution. In peasant lands, of course, the contrast between the Jew and the native is most plainly

seen, but in bourgeois or capitalized States the Jew is often in apparent dissonance with the regnant civilization.

There are, admittedly, such sociologists as Karl Kautsky who believe that persecution of the Jew will die out in Eastern Europe, as (he claims) it has become less conspicuous than formerly in Western Europe, and that, since Judaism derives its strength from anti-Semitism, Assimilationism in the end must conquer. But there is, in fact, little evidence that the cause of Assimilationism is winning: the Jews themselves are as divided as ever they were on this problem.

It is true that in Jewry there is a preponderating influence of assimilated Jews—the financiers, the artists, the litterateurs, the merchants, and so on. But if the wealthy or assimilated or emancipated Jew were always against the attempt to promote national consciousness among the Jews, how is the constant support of men like Einstein, Lord Reading, or the Warburgs for the Zionist movement in Palestine to be explained? It is explicable on one hypothesis only: that the free, untrammelled Jew of the West finds it a matter of pride that there should be in Palestine a Jewish community, however small, at liberty to pursue its own existence in its own particular way. Is sympathy with the ideal of Assimilationism to be found here? Assuredly not. Many British Jews, it may be countered, assert or profess little interest in Zionism, and see its funds shrinking without a qualm. But certain highly-placed Jews in this country endeavoured to exert direct influence on the British Cabinet at the time when, as a result of the Palestine riots of 1929, it was trying to formulate a new policy for the Holy Land.

Is there then, one can hear it darkly whispered, a real tie, a real community of interests between Jews all over the world? Is there, in fact, a "Jewish conspiracy" to gain world power? There is, in my opinion, nothing of the kind. Jews do not always act in unity

—far from it. The conception of a strongly-knit, purposeful Jewish nation, aware in its extremities of what goes on at the heart, is the veriest nonsense. There is among the Jews free circulation neither of ideas nor of thoughts nor of intentions. Even the linguistic test, though admittedly it is not a final test when indicating whether a people has reached the status of nationhood or not, fails with the Jews. For neither Hebrew nor Yiddish is a *lingua franca* among them.

Here, then, is the dilemma of the Jews, the problem of world-Jewry. If they assert their national consciousness, they assert something which is quite impossible of realization; and if they favour assimilation, they are open to the charge at once of renouncing the faith of their forefathers and of becoming incomplete spiritual loyalists to the nation among which they live.

There is, I fear, no solution to the problem. Mr. Hilaire Belloc postulated a solution by suggesting the segregation, or separation of the Jews, by the granting to them of a separate Jewish nationality, and by thus recognizing openly their essential difference from the rest of the world. Different, the Jews are, yes: but an entity, no. I have shown, I hope, that by all the modern tests the Jews are not a nation, that they lack all the indications except, perhaps, that of common memories—and many of them have even those no longer, melancholy and beautiful though these be. Unless, therefore, all the Jews of the world were gathered together and remained in some empty territory, far larger and more productive than Palestine, the conception of a Jewish nation is mere words.

The Jew, then, will remain a wanderer to the end of time, now merging himself in the world, now holding aloof, one of the "Chosen People," homeless, restless, and never quite at ease. And the experiment of creating a "Jewish National Home" in Palestine will be seen as but an epoch, glorious or gloomy according to one's point of view, in his eternal history.

The British Community of India

By W. Kirkpatrick, M.P.

PROTAGONISTS against the ideals pursued by Lord Irwin, that intellectual consciousness is akin to nationalism, argue that India as a national entity is made impossible of attainment by caste tyranny. I venture to draw attention to a fact not generally appreciated in this country, which may not have come within the purview of the Round Table Conferences, but nevertheless has an important bearing on the future of the British connection with India. In regard to the safeguarding of the rights of British interests—unquestionably essential to any advance towards self-government—it may be argued that we are ourselves perpetuating communal discrimination between two numerically equal sections of the " British Community of India." On the one hand the temporarily resident " Europeans," on the other the community domiciled in India of pure and/or mixed British descent, who represent, and will continue to maintain British traditions and the British connection with the India of the future. Allocating to them separate electorates and seats in the legislatures, emphasizes, as it is indeed based on, class differentiation. Lord Irwin appealed, in 1926, " In the name of Indian national life and religion, that Hindoos and Moslems should rescue the good name of India." I urge now that " Europeans " in India, in co-operation with the British domiciled and Anglo-Indian communities, would do well to consider the need to unite for all social, economic and political purposes, under the generic description " The British Community *of* India." " *In* India " suggests localized, isolated identities.

Since the days of Warren Hastings this community has comprised :—

1. British officials, which includes British soldiers of all ranks.

2. British people domiciled in India, of pure and/or mixed descent.
3. Non-officials whose domicile is in Europe.

The destiny of all these component sections of the "British Community of India" must ultimately and inevitably be collectively identified with the land they they live in, under one composite communal category.

Apart from questions of social or political expediency, or consequential material benefits, if the facts are not fairly and squarely faced up to now, there is danger of our doing a much misrepresented people of British stock, a tragic, irremediable dis-service. "Anglo-Indians" or "Domiciled Europeans" in India are as much entitled to the description "British" as are the thousands of people of mixed national origins in England. "British subjects" resident in foreign countries, whether of pure or mixed descent, retain their nationality and their nomenclature. In considering the present status of the "European domiciled" and the Anglo-Indian communities in India, some reference to, and full appreciation of their present and past status is here necessary. Sixty years ago, a considerable proportion of the community, whose grandfathers and great-grandfathers held civil or military positions under the East India Company—while themselves brought up and educated in India—were able to send their children to this country for education. These children merged into that large class of retired British officials and soldiers who, especially until a decade ago, had no outlook or outlet for careers other than the services in India. Of the same quality and stock were others—also descendants of East India Company officials—who were brought up and educated in India. Given the opportunity they have held their own in all ranks of the services. But the opportunities have diminished, through decreasing financial ability, through recruitment from England, and increasing competition from Indians.

Until thirty years ago the superior police service,

railway traffic officers, superior Accounts, etc., were almost entirely locally appointed. The only differentiation this class of officer suffered from was in such instances as the police—in which service the provincial inspector generalships were reserved for members of the I.C.S. The Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs was also invariably an Indian Civil Servant.

In addition to this older and more easily defined "domiciled" group as above referred to, there has grown up another rapidly increasing and numerically larger class. During the last seventy years many thousands of British soldiers have left the army for civil vocations in India. These "pure" Britishers—the less well-to-do—approximating as nearly as possible to our working classes—have become truly domiciled, and have merged socially and by intermarriage with the descendants of their East India Company predecessors. Up to 1919 this "Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European" group, who are, in fact, a well-defined unified section of the "British Community of India," provided the bulk of "subordinate" services such as the secretariats, the posts and telegraphs, railways, "subordinate" engineering, "subordinate" medical service and "subordinate" police.

It will be appropriate at this point to arrive at an "intelligent estimation" of the numerical constitution of the "British Community of India," based on the 1921 Census and analysis in the Simon Report.

Even allowing for delicate discrepancies in census papers, it is clear that the combined Domiciled and Anglo-Indian section is preponderatingly numerically greater than the temporarily resident section of the British community of India, i.e. less British troops.

The leaders of the Anglo-Indian community, which, generally speaking, and for all practical purposes aimed at in this article, includes domiciled Europeans, made a great mistake during the war, when they agreed to raise a communal regiment. It focussed invidious attention, and for conventional reasons, was adversely prejudged.

DOMICILED EUROPEANS, including Anglo-Indians who have been returned as "Europeans"	38,000	
Add 50 per cent. of "45,000 women" returned as "Europeans"	22,500	60,500
ANGLO-INDIANS	113,000	
Less Indian Christians who "have sought inclusion in the Anglo-Indian category," say, fully 25 per cent.	28,000	85,000
Total Domiciled Europeans and Anglo-Indians		145,500*

Based on above computation the figures for "Europeans" temporarily resident in India would be :—

EUROPEANS (and allied races)	176,000	
Less British troops	60,000	116,000
Less 33⅓ per cent. "domiciled" Europeans returned as temporarily resident	38,000	
And 50 per cent. of "45,000 women" ...	22,500	60,500†
Total temporarily resident Europeans ...		55,500

This 55,500 is made up according to and exactly synchronizes with the Simon Report figures as follows :—

European element in Civil Services "in all grades from the highest to the lowest"		12,000
European non-official adult males		21,000
Women, European	45,000	
Less 50 per cent. Anglo-Indian and Domiciled Europeans	22,500	22,500
		55,500

* *See* the Simon Report, Vol. 1, Part I, Chap. 5 : "The census of 1921 gave 113,090 as the strength of the (Anglo-Indian) community in the whole of India. The figure is probably not very precise, for some who might have been included get classed as Europeans; *while there is a tendency for some* (I should have said—very many thousands. W.K.) *who have adopted British names* (and other European—e.g. Portuguese names. W.K.) *to seek inclusion in* the Anglo-Indian category." The italics are mine; a similar "tendency" has hitherto been irresistible to Indian Christians,

[*Continued opposite*

While as a regiment they did well, many thousands of the community during the war—and for a century previously—enlisted in British regiments, and served without any discrimination alongside English, Scottish, and Irish soldiers. Many hundreds of the European domiciled and Anglo-Indian communities—and I would emphasize again it is impossible to make any clear-cut differentiation between the two—joined the Indian Army Reserve of Officers between 1914 and 1918 and obtained regular commissions. Many received rewards for military prowess—at least one V.C., and one commanded a division.‡

Throughout the hundred years from Plassey to the Sepoy revolt in 1857, many distinguished civilians and soldiers were "East Indians," the term then applied to the Anglo-Indian communities. During the past thirty years these combined sections of the "British Community of India" have produced equally efficient "British" soldiers, civilians, medical men, engineers, commercial and industrial magnates, officers of the mercantile marine, including Hooghly pilots, many leading lawyers and High Court judges, Oriental scholars, writers and diplomats. As barristers and solicitors, particularly, they have supplied outstanding representatives, better known, better trusted, and on terms of far closer intimacy and contact with Indians, than any other

ambitious of achieving higher material, official, and particularly, social status, by describing themselves as Anglo-Indians or "Eurasians."

† It is safe to say that in the all India and Burma figures of 116,000 Europeans (i.e. excluding 60,000 British troops), at least 38,000 (i.e. 33⅓ per cent.) would strictly come under the Domiciled European (and Anglo-Indian) category. Even this I suggest is an under-estimate, when it is considered (Simon Report, Vol. 1, Part iv, Chap. 1) that, "in the whole civil administration of British India from the highest to the lowest, the European element is about 12,000." Of these, only "about 3,500" belong to the "superior grade," which means almost entirely recruited in England.

‡ Indian Round Table Report (Third session), p. 176. Sir H. Gidney records: the "fact that it was two Anglo-Indians . . . Lt. Robinson, V.C., who brought down the first German Zeppelin in London, and Lt. Warneford, V.C., who brought down the first aeroplane in France."

British officials or non-officials in India. Anglo-Indian and "Domiciled" engineers, educated in the Thomason (Roorkee) Engineering College, have reached the highest summits of their profession, not only in India, but in all parts of the world. Many instances can be quoted of men, who, starting life in the "subordinate" medical service in India, came to this country, obtained commissions in the Indian Medical Service, and have attained professional eminence and the highest appointments.

The head of a large tea-growing concern told me twenty years ago, that as an experiment, he had converged all his "domiciled" assistants into one group of "gardens," and found that they more than held their own in efficiency, trustworthiness, loyalty and sobriety, and naturally understood, and got on better with the native labour than any other class of British planter he had had experience of. A material advantage also was that their employment obviated expensive passages forth and back to England. In many of the native States there are still living and working, "British" families, domiciled and/or of mixed descent, who for generations have held important and honoured situations as advisers and officials.

Measuring success in terms of marriage, the women of the domiciled and of the Anglo-Indian community have more than held their own. Throughout the history of our connection with India up to present times, they have taken their place—in capability and social efficiency beyond compare—as wives of "British" civil and military officials, tea and indigo planters, missionaries and business men; from junior to the most senior.

In "The Future of East and West," Sir Frederick Whyte says: "Outside the Anglo-Saxon world, colour prejudice rarely prevents the marriage of brown and white, and only, as far as I am aware, in the United States and British India is the offspring of such an union regarded as a pariah." Class prejudice, created to some extent by a sense of superiority and exclusiveness engendered by the *esprit de corps* which has been an

excusable and justified characteristic of the Indian Civil Service, has undoubtedly influenced the attitude of the non-official "European" community towards the Anglo-Indian and domiciled communities of India. Except for eight years in Upper India, where my social contacts were with (native) Indian traders and industrialists, and with British officials and Indian Army officers, I lived with, and was associated during my entire working life in India with British bank officials, assistants and heads of British firms, lawyers, managers of factories, mining engineers, tea and indigo planters, and, indeed, every variety of European non-official. Man for man, I found their average of education and culture, moral fibre and integrity, in no respect distinctive from, or superior to that of the products of the "European" schools in India. These schools, "some of which (*vide* Simon Report, p. 42, vol. i) are of old foundation and have fine records," have produced, and continue to produce, those who have permanent and pre-eminent claims to be recognized and assured full status within the "British Community of India." Claims, in no less degree sustainable on communal grounds than may be demanded by, or granted to, "Europeans temporarily resident in India."

In the existing state of European society in India, it is possible to sympathize with the earlier impressions and attitude of the young clerk who finds himself transmuted into a "mercantile assistant" or "assistant accountant" in a business office or bank. Constrained to wear evening dress daily, he is encouraged to become a "*sab*" (sic), and is in any case immediately qualified to attend a Viceroy's levee. He learns that he is, or must become, "A European received in general Society" to qualify him for membership of "European" clubs, a privilege rarely extended to Anglo-Indians and rigidly denied also to British-born shop owners and shop assistants in India. There is no particular moral to be drawn from this fact except that such social discriminations are traditionally Anglo-American. They are important in

considering our own caste problems in India—where, whatever other intolerances may exist—there is certainly no caste distinction (among native Indians) between a man who owns or serves in a retail shop—and another who runs or works in a wholesale firm.

The social segregation of the British-born shopkeeper or assistant in India, has been a distinct deterrent to recruitment for this class of employee and has undoubtedly adversely affected this phase of our trading efforts in India. In European society, in India, a retail trader is a distinct "*jat*" or caste—something below a "sahib" and above a "subordinate." There must be a breaking down of social barriers, class prejudices and snobbery within our own communities in India. They will be less discernable under the new Constitution.

I can see no reason why the domiciled and Anglo-Indian section of the British community of India should not, as I am convinced they will under "Dominion Status," have greater opportunities to supply a larger proportion—than they do now, or have done in the past—of officials in all professions and government and other services in India. Not only in the services, but politically and socially I envisage, and would urge all concerned to secure, a return to the status this community held at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It seems to me that for very obvious material reasons the European official and mercantile community must accept the opportunity of coming within the scope of the one classification, "The British Community of India," or alternatively being segregated as "Europeans"—even including the "retailer" sub-sept. Equally with the term "subordinate," "Anglo-Indian" (or Eurasian) is apt to be used in India in a derogatory sense, as implying something below par. Its continued use means a repudiation of British birthright and *de facto denationalization*. It perpetuates the use of the meaningless and malevolent term "half-caste,"

The term "British Community *of India*" or even

"*in India*," must, in future, be understood to signify a single, unified, composite classification. It cannot possibly, under any new constitution—and certainly will not under Dominion status—continue to be the monopoly. title of "Transitory careerists." To any but the most short-sighted opportunists—and to all who have real knowledge and insight, these are the portents—and the facts. The Prime Minister's communal award, it may be claimed, gives the transient non-official European far greater representation than is, for numerical reasons, his due; but undoubtedly an increasing number of these seats can be, as they should be, and inevitably will be in future, filled by members of all sections embraced under the term "British Community of India." It may be hoped that under the new conditions, large numbers of non-official "Europeans" now in India, will seek to become domiciled. It will all be to the good, even if the stimulus to do so is no more than considerations relative to death duties in this country.

In our very laudable and entirely justifiable insistence to provide weightage, and to secure safeguards for the European non-official in India, and also very properly and primarily, to ensure that there shall be no discrimination against any "European Minority" as such, we must avoid overlooking or prejudicing the communal rights of the rest, and in numbers the larger section of the "British Community of India."

Whenever India attains self-governing status, it will be difficult, indeed, in my view impossible, to expect the new "Dominion" to accede representation to the extent to which the Prime Minister's award at present provides for purely European non-official interests in India. Safeguards to this end must be insisted on or provisions made to meet such contingencies, now. But to a "Community" representing a preponderating majority of the British community of India, who have adopted India as a permanent home, and who have had, and are likely to continue to have, an abiding stay in the

country, such rights are due, and can with justice and in equity be claimed and established. The question to be solved—and to which an adequate answer must be found if the case of the European temporarily resident is not to be put in jeopardy is this: whether any non-official "European" in India, who takes up politics only during the last four or five years of his stay in the country, and who up to that time has seldom, if ever, met an Indian other than his "Babboo" (*sic*) or a mill coolie, will be acceptable as a sure and safe guide for long-range policy in the government of a dominion with which he is on the eve of severing his connection for ever?

There is less British capital invested in India than in the Argentine, but the British community there is neither permitted, nor seems to require, any special communal representation, or any voice in the Government. A fairer analogy would be a consideration of the fact that neither Indians, nor Chinese, nor Japanese in California, or even in Australia or British Columbia, are allowed any privileged political representation. Indeed, I understand they are denied certain rights of citizenship.

I can foresee India under its new Constitution quite logically insisting on a proportion of "Indians"—(or alternatively, under their existing statutory status, domiciled and Anglo-Indian members of the "British Community of India")—being employed in executive capacities in industrial and commercial affairs such, for instance, as directors of limited liability companies registered in India. Are safeguards to be provided in this respect?

These suggestions may be considered to be premature of disclosure or discussion until India actually has attained responsible self-government. *I prefer that we look forward, and that facts be faced now and the future fully safeguarded.* I urge, therefore, that British industrialists in India, as well as those who control capital from this country, take stock of the position, at the present juncture, to foresee and forestall any

prohibitive or discriminating legislation of the nature I forecast, and indeed, may well be apprehended. We should aim frankly at realizing, and recognizing, and utilizing the claims and status of that section of the British community of India—who by very reason of their domicile—*can even now by statute claim to be* "Natives of India," just as Britishers by birth or by adoption in Australia or Canada become Australians or Canadians.

These existing statutory privileges, actual legal "National" rights, are capable of extension to include all sections coming under the category "British Community of India." This is a solution and a means of safeguarding the position of the temporarily resident European in India worthy of the most urgent and earnest consideration.

For the Britisher who goes out to India in the future there will be, and there need be, no restriction of opportunity. In whatever capacity he adventures, there will continue to be, and as there always has been, a ready place and eager demand for him as a reliable, steadfast, loyal official or expert. Whether he seeks a career in the Services, commerce or industry or in the professions open to him in India, he will need to merge into a unified, communal, and with those to whom politics are no bar, political entity. The nomenclature "The British Community of India," I suggest, carries greater prestige and gives a clearer-cut national identity than "European Community *in* India." If he elects to retain the latter designation, the "European" will be liable to be regarded and treated as a temporary resident, a "transitory careerist," with no more logical or legal status or claim to participation in the government of the country through any special communal electorates or seats in the legislatures, than he would have in any other country, or dominion.

In advocating the co-ordination of the British communities *in India*, or "*of India*" which I have endeav-

oured to emphasize as a more appropriate appelation—I do so advisedly, and mindful of the fact that British trade *with* India is no longer a monopoly of British firms in India—nor, indeed, is Indian trade with this country. "Europeans" in India to-day are for the most part *not independent traders or merchants* in the sense they were even thirty years ago, but—to an extent—dependent industrialists and manufacturers and producers of special commodities, such as tea and rubber, jute and textiles, gold and manganese. In all their several capacities—whether as exploiters—using the expression in its best sense—and *guardians as they are* (and I would emphasize this) *of both British and Indian capital*, they must, as much in the interests of India as of themselves, be safeguarded against any prejudicial or unfair discrimination. It will be the duty of this Government, and of this Parliament, to secure these requisite safeguards without any equivocations, qualifications or reservations whatsoever.

To sum up, then, I would urge—as an earnest, and as implying a good deal more than any merely sentimental gesture, of reciprocation—that in preparation for and in anticipation of the imminent constitutional changes—the several communities referred to, identify themselves as all belonging to one cohesive, ethnic, historical, political, worth while, patriotically national minority within the all-embracing description "The British Community of India." Herein lies our destiny. It is the obvious and urgent and essentially practical and long view—in my opinion, the only view—to take in the supreme interests of the British connection, and of our future relations with India. To those imbued with the prejudices of the past, there is such a thing as making a virtue of necessity.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

Edited by HERBERT AGAR

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THE TABLE OF TRUTH

Parodies by HUGH KINGSMILL (Author of "Frank Harris," etc.)

Here are many gems of the parodist's art. Mr. Kingsmill is at his brightest and wittiest, ever ready to poke fun at such diverse literary styles as those of Dr. Johnson, Lytton Strachey, Oscar Wilde and other celebrities. His wit is often keenly barbed, but he is never anything but exceedingly amusing **3/6**

JARROLDS, PUBLISHERS (LONDON) LTD.

Literary Notes

By Herbert Agar

The Art of Parody

THE "Concise Oxford Dictionary," with strange inaccuracy, defines parody as a "composition in which an author's characteristics are ridiculed by imitation." Parody is a device which may be used for many purposes, but the one purpose for which the most skilful parodists seldom use it is the purpose mentioned by the Oxford Dictionary. Scarron did not ridicule Virgil; he relied on Virgil's security from ridicule, and by aping the Virgilian form he added point to his ridicule of other men. Mr. Max Beerbohm did more than ridicule Henry James or Arnold Bennett; by imitating them he made a lively criticism of their work. Both these types of parody are attempted, with high success, by Mr. Hugh Kingsmill in "The Table of Truth" (Jarrolds). And at other times, as in his piece on Frank Harris, Mr. Kingsmill descends to the Oxford Dictionary's idea of parody, and shows that he can excel in that lower order also.

Though parody can be many different things, it is ruined when it tries to be more than one thing at a time. Mr. Kingsmill knows this, and keeps his purpose beautifully clear. Occasionally, as in the short story "after P. G. Wodehouse," he copies his original with only a slight exaggeration of effect. The story can be enjoyed as pure Wodehouse, which is high praise; it can also be enjoyed as a critical discussion of Mr. Wodehouse's method—a discussion which would be tiresome in essay form, but which is both gay and instructive as Mr. Kingsmill presents it. A subtler, and a superb, example of

the same method is the dialogue with Oscar Wilde beyond the Styx. A heavy-handed parody of Wilde would be easy and annoying, but would reveal nothing. Mr. Kingsmill produces a prose that is Wilde himself, with only the faintest underscoring which neither conceals the rococo structure nor denies the real charm. "The wise devotee, you do not need that I should tell it to you, is he who visits every shrine save the shrine of his adoration. I have never trod the meadows of Shropshire, with light or tired feet, neither in her streams have I laved my hands. . . . Her trees have not made a shade for me from the sun, nor her breezes with cooling fingers touched my brows. My loss, I do not question it, has been great. But my gain has been far greater. The Shropshire whither the poet leads me is marred by no trivial or ignoble memories, nor made dull by unimportant knowledge. And how wonderful it is! . . . In that land the young are amorous of death, and know that he is more merciful than life, and are fain of him that he may hide them in the hollow earth, so that none may make a mock of them when the loveliness is gone from their limbs, nor shame them with pity for the brightness that has faded from their hair." This is good criticism. Mr. Kingsmill has not only understood his subject's tricks, he has seen the secret of the true magic as well. His comment is a revelation; the fact that it is entertaining should not conceal its justice.

In "Remarks by Dr. Johnson on Certain Writers of the Present Age," Mr. Kingsmill shows another of the uses of parody. While making good-humoured fun of Boswell on the one hand, he uses Dr. Johnson as a knobkerrie with which to beat Messrs. Shaw and Wells. And a stout, resounding knobkerrie the Doctor is. Boswell pecks at Johnson to find out why he would not read "The Outline of History." In the end, he gets his answer: "Sir, I could never feel myself obliged to pay an ignorant man to conduct his education in public."

Mr. Keynes as Essayist

THE first sketch in Mr. John Maynard Keynes's "Essays in Biography" (Macmillan) is the famous *Council of Four*, reprinted from "The Economic Consequences of the Peace." To this is added a sketch of Mr. Lloyd George, originally written for inclusion in "The Economic Consequences," but suppressed because of "a certain compunction." The compunction is easy to understand, for this is the most annihilating attack I have ever seen printed on a living man, even on Mr. Lloyd George. "Lloyd George is rooted in nothing; he is void and without content; he lives and feeds on his immediate surroundings; he is an instrument and a player at the same time which plays on the company and is played on by them too; he is a prism, as I have heard him described, which collects light and distorts it and is most brilliant if the light comes from many quarters at once; a vampire and a medium in one." Those who remember Mr. Keynes's sinister pictures of Clemenceau and Wilson will not wonder at his final withering judgment on the Peace Treaty: "These were the personalities of Paris—I forbear to mention other nations or lesser men: Clemenceau, æsthetically the noblest; the President, morally the most admirable; Lloyd George, intellectually the subtlest. Out of their disparities and weaknesses the Treaty was born, child of the least worthy attributes of each of its parents, without nobility, without morality, without intellect."

Although the whole book does not live up to these initial fireworks, "Essays in Biography" is interesting throughout. Right or wrong, Mr. Keynes's portraits are vivid and hard to forget. The most impressive study is the last—a charming tribute to the late F. P. Ramsey.

Wilson and Colonel House

ANOTHER hostile account of the Treaty of Versailles is given by Mr. George Sylvester Viereck, in "The Strangest Friendship in History: Woodrow Wilson and

Colonel House" (Duckworth). Mr. Viereck is a German-American who, during the early years of the War, carried on a noisy but puerile anti-ally propaganda in the United States. At that time he believed Woodrow Wilson was an English-hearted villain who pretended to desire his country's continued neutrality while leading it steadily and skilfully into the anti-German camp. It is a tribute to Mr. Viereck's conscience as historian that he has abandoned this view; but the view he has put in its place is small tribute to his brains. He now sees Wilson as having "some aspects of a martyr and a saint," and Colonel House as "a genuine philosopher and a gifted statesman" who exercised an almost supernatural influence over Wilson, yet he pictures the final results of this "statesmanship" as almost wholly bad. Although he greatly exaggerates the influence of Colonel House on Wilson, and in spite of his slovenly use of English, Mr. Viereck is, nevertheless, worth reading. He has had access to much unpublished material, and has been diligent in seeking the opinions of men who knew Wilson. His book makes a real addition to our knowledge of that enigmatic man.

Miscellaneous

THE old theme of the-man-changed-by-a-knock-on-the-head is given a new and timely twist in "Rinehard," by Thomas F. Tweed (Barker). The man thus changed is the President of the United States, and the novel deals with the dramatic cleaning-up, both at home and abroad, which results. It is an exciting story, and suggests the practical plan of hitting all public men rather hard on the head: if they don't turn into geniuses, they might at least die.

Any devotee of detective stories should enjoy the analogous hunting down of wicked bacteria described in "Men against Death," by Paul de Kruif (Cape). The reader of this book, however, must be prepared to stomach some abominable journalese, and to discount,

in the excitement of following the facts, the workings of a sensational and sentimental mind.

Mr. Robert Graves's attempt to rewrite Dickens, equiping him with the latest improvements, is conscientious and absurd. "The Real David Copperfield" (Barker), by Mr. Graves, is at least shorter than the false *David Copperfield*, by Dickens.

Mr. W. H.

By Hugh Kingsmill

SHAKESPEARE'S Sonnets raise a number of questions which will never be definitely solved, unless information not yet in our possession is discovered. In "The True History of Shakespeare's Sonnets" (Martin Secker, 8s. 6d.), Lord Alfred Douglas is chiefly concerned with the relations between Shakespeare and Mr. W. H., to whom the sonnets were dedicated and whom he reasonably assumes to be the young man addressed in them. The relations of Shakespeare and the dark woman of the sonnets are treated by Douglas as relatively unimportant.

That Mr. W. H. was a nobleman, Lord Pembroke possibly, or Lord Southampton, is believed by most critics. On this point, and on this point alone, Sir Sidney Lee and Frank Harris are at one. Douglas, however, supports Oscar Wilde and Samuel Butler in their argument that Mr. W. H. was neither Lord Pembroke nor Lord Southampton, nor any other lord, but William Hughes, a youth of great beauty, though of obscure social position. The Christian name they deduce from the play which Shakespeare makes in sonnets 135, 136, and 143 with the word "Will": the surname from a line in sonnet 20: "A man in hew, all *hews* in his controlling." Hughes was also spelt Hews in Elizabethan times, and they therefore suggest that Shakespeare is revealing the surname of the youth in this line. Neither Douglas,

Wilde, nor Butler explains what meaning they attach to "all Hughes in his controlling." Is Shakespeare assuring Hughes that he has an unrestricted right to the use of his own surname?

Having discovered William Hughes in the sonnets, Samuel Butler tried to discover him in real life, and after a prolonged search among Elizabethan records disinterred a sea-cook as the most probable claimant to the honour of being Mr. W. H. Why someone whom Shakespeare found more lovely and more temperate than a summer's day should have secluded himself among weevils and cockroaches, Butler does not explain. Audacious though he is in his other interpretations, he shrinks, one does not know why, from clinching the case for the sea-cook with such lines as "Thus do I pine and surfeit day by day," or "I in thy abundance am suffic'd."

Douglas avoids any extravagances of this kind, and he also dissociates himself from Butler's view that Shakespeare's adoration of Mr. W. H. led him on one occasion into an escapade which he later bitterly regretted. Like Wilde, he believes the love of Shakespeare for Mr. W. H. to have been ideal and imaginative, and he argues this point convincingly. Like Wilde, too, he believes Mr. W. H. to have been a boy-actor. But he joins with Butler, and here disagrees with Wilde, in holding that Shakespeare wrote the sonnets before he was twenty-five, and not, as is usually supposed, in the middle thirties.

The following considerations may perhaps persuade Lord Alfred Douglas that there is more than he at present allows to be said for the view that Shakespeare wrote the sonnets in his middle thirties, and addressed them to a nobleman. To take the latter point first, it is improbable that Shakespeare, urging a poor young actor to marry, would say:—

> "And many maiden gardens, yet unset,
> With virtuous wish would bear you living flowers."

Nor, addressing someone in his own profession, would he be likely to write :—

"O! for my sake do you with Fortune chide . . .
That did not better for my life provide
Than public means which public manners breeds . . .
Pity me then, and wish I were renew'd."

Nor can one readily conjecture how his friendship with a young fellow just taken on to play female parts at a date when actors were still technically rogues and vagabonds could have inspired him to exclaim :—

For whether beauty, birth, or wealth, or wit,
Or any of these all, or all, or more,
Entitled in thy parts do crownèd sit,
I make my love engrafted to this store :
So then I am not lame, poor, nor despis'd,
Whilst that this shadow doth such substance give
That I in thy abundance am suffic'd
And by a part of all thy glory live."

Nor, finally, is it easy to see how sonnet 25, which Douglas quotes on his side of the argument, can be otherwise interpreted than as a contrast between the insecurity of public favours and the stability of private friendship.

That Shakespeare had not just come to town, but had had many years' experience of the stage when he wrote the sonnets is suggested both by " Pity me then, and wish I were renew'd " and by—

" Alas! 'tis true I have gone here and there,
And made myself a motley to the view."

Nor, in the sanguine ignorance of youth, would he have written of—

" Art made tongue-tied by authority,
And folly doctor-like—controlling skill."

The Elizabethan censorship of the stage was severe, and these lines express the bitterness engendered by a long series of imbecilities on the part of the Lord Chamberlain.

The view that Shakespeare was very much older than Mr. W. H. is further strengthened by the similarity of tone between the emotion Shakespeare reveals for Mr. W. H. and the love of Antonio, the grave merchant of Venice, for the light-hearted young adventurer Bassanio ; and a similar though slighter parallel is to be found in the relations of

the sea-captain Antonio, in *Twelfth Night*, and Sebastian. If Shakespeare was writing the sonnets in his middle thirties, it would explain, too, the extraordinary pathos he infuses into the love of the hard and crafty Henry IV for Prince Hal. "I stay too long by thee, I weary thee" is an epitome of Shakespeare's imperfectly-requited love for Mr. W. H., whom he must often have addressed in his mind in the words of Henry IV to his son :—

> "Not an eye
> But is aweary of thy common sight
> Save mine: which hath desired to see thee more."

In the sonnets, Shakespeare writes : "When I perhaps compounded am with clay." Henry IV uses almost the same words : "Only compound me with forgotten dust." The parallel is curious, and may be regarded as a slight addition to the strong case for Shakespeare having written the sonnets in his maturity.

Samuel Butler

SAMUEL BUTLER : A MID-VICTORIAN MODERN. By CLARA G. STILLMAN. (Secker. 16s.).

EVEN to-day, the generality of readers hesitate over Samuel Butler. They have been cowed, but not convinced, by his admirers. A suspicion lingers among them that, when all has been said on his behalf, he died in a mare's nest in St. John's Wood. Her omission to deal with this is the only serious flaw in Mrs. Stillman's extraordinarily discerning, sympathetic, and well-written book. The best study of Butler that has yet appeared, for she really is at home with his ideas and writes with penetration, this book is persuasive; and persuasiveness the expositor of Butler still needs since he became, from his tortured youth, so cramped, twisted, and angular that usually only admirers concern themselves with him.

The heart of the book, a charming but independent miniature, after the great biography by Festing Jones, so that the story of his life and friendships is interwoven with the study of his writings, is very properly the chapters on "Life and Habit" and "Evolution Old and New." These books (with their two successors) contained the bases of all his ideas (prefigured in "Erewhon"), set out the four principles by which he made the pre-Darwinian

theory of Evolution more memorable and more inspiring, and made complete hay of Darwin's pet theory of natural selection. Darwin, as a thinker, is in the dustbin to-day; only as a great accumulator of previously uncollected data will he be remembered. The reason why Butler was so carefully ignored in his own lifetime was, in origin, his own fault. The "Fair Haven" when published under another name, did what it set out to do. It made orthodox and sceptics listen to one another's arguments, and was praised by both sides because the sceptics alone rumbled the irony. Elated by the success of this virtuosity, Butler republished under his own name. Naturally, most readers and reviewers never forgave him. They had the further excuse that he was led to reopen a series of other supposedly long-settled questions, and most people could not trust themselves to know whether he meant to be taken seriously or not.

His reasoning was too clear to be brushed aside. It was safer to ignore him. Besides, he made you think on every page, so that even his amusement became fatiguing. Yet it cannot be denied that "Erewhon Revisited" is, in its idea, the most marvellous sequel ever written, for it is a wholly new and complete book and yet grows out of its forerunner with a perfection of logic to a sequel worthy of flower from seed.

Mrs. Stillman justly points out that, often from independent sources, later thinkers have come, and may come more, to some of Butler's cherished conclusions. Why, then, even now, is he more admired than liked; why are that novel and those notebooks always a mixed pleasure; why is the instinct to avoid him not yet overcome? The answer is that, with the doubtful exceptions of "God the Known and Unknown" and "Alps and Sanctuaries," his writings are without a trace of charm. Not only is his appeal wholly intellectual, but his style, though exquisitely lucid, is very gritty: a hard high road on which we tramp with nothing but a firm and dry surface to be grateful for; the very wit glitters like a sprinkling of sand. His beauties, Mrs. Stillman does not see, are intellectual only: lucidity of thought, perfect conduct of an argument, clarity of definition. Butler was no more, if no less, an artist than Euclid; his writing as without beauty as his painting, his music, or his verse.

Thus his reputation is tied to his ideas. If they become accepted, or if they fail, except as a curiosity, it will be all up with him; for his matter, alas, is the man himself. Suppose the worst for him: the abandonment of the theory of evolution

altogether. It is one of the possibilities ahead of us through the difficulties that have accumulated. Should that happen, Butler's only claims will have gone; and he will be open to the fate that he translated from Buffon, so admirably that it should have been quoted. This, however, is for the future. Meantime, Mrs. Stillman's persuasiveness is so nearly perfect, even when she almost coaxes us to include Yram among the lovable heroines of fiction, that her book will not only delight Butler's admirers, but will do all that tact can do to make his feast of ideas palatable to those who can never enjoy unaided the strenuous pleasure of thinking. In her pages his ideas become agreeable to read, and the man himself is drawn truthfully but with affection.

OSBERT BURDETT.

"A Power Girt Round with Weakness."

THE LIFE OF SHELLEY. By HOGG, PEACOCK and TRELAWNEY. (With a New Survey by HUMBERT WOLFE.) In two volumes. (J. M. Dent & Sons. 15s.)

THESE two pleasant volumes are a boon to students of early nineteenth-century literature, and excellent reading for every one. They contain not only three records of Shelley, written by three of his friends, but the "Letters to Peacock" which contain some of Shelley's finest prose.

The avowed purpose of Mr. Wolfe's "Introduction" is to discredit Hogg as a biographer, but although he develops his thesis with wit and penetration, he succeeds only in expressing his own distaste for Hogg as a personality. The expression of this distaste will be enjoyable to most Shelley enthusiasts, but as a real introduction to the material in these volumes it leaves much to be desired.

Hogg lied about what happened at York in 1811, altering Shelley's letters and suppressing facts to cover his own guilt. Further, Hogg was known to lie proficiently whenever it suited his own tortuous purposes. This much is essential as a preface to his "Life of Shelley," but there will be many Shelley scholars (as there were many of Shelley's friends), who will disagree with Mr. Wolfe's opinion that Hogg's picture of Shelley is false; and Hogg's suppression of his own ignominy will not seem to them evidence either for or against. It did Shelley no conceivable harm, and there is every reason to assume that it was prompted,

not by a reluctance to admit Shelley's generous forgiveness, but by a perfectly comprehensible desire to protect himself.

Mr. Wolfe, however, finds in Hogg's whole attitude toward Shelley a very mean spirit—an amused patronage, a desire to glorify himself in the act of seeming to glorify Shelley. It is true that the "Life of Shelley" is bulky with Hogg's presence. It is also true that Hogg was a pretentious egotist. But the striking fact about his biography—the striking fact, indeed, about all the records of Shelley left by his contemporaries—is that the biographer could not alter or taint his subject. The fact that, for many of us, Hogg could not dim Shelley's radiance, pervert his generosity, or twist the motives of his enthusiasms, is the most fascinating, as well as the most convincing thing about his "Life."

The really controversial aspect of Mr. Wolfe's thesis, however, lies in his defence of Shelley *per se*. He points out in detail the many places where Hogg commented, with heavy humour, on his friend's eccentric activities. But many of the details are unconvincing. There is nothing in Hogg's account of the vile messes made by Shelley's chemical experiments, which justifies Mr. Wolfe's saying that Hogg found in Shelley's *ideas* about science "only a subject for smoking-room humour." Nor will many readers agree with Mr. Wolfe about Shelley's descent on Ireland ("to forward . . . the Catholic Emancipation"). They will be more inclined to agree with Hogg that the crusade showed a childish want of judgment, than with Mr. Wolfe in likening it to "that most pitiful incident of mediæval history, the Children's Crusade."

This kind of defence is controversial because there is a conception of Shelley's life which would accept Hogg's attitude as a justifiable one. This view of Shelley is that he worked his way toward greatness through a truly formidable succession of wrong-headed theories, and therefore through an equally formidable succession of silly actions. Hogg's "Life" covers only the first twenty-two years. During those years Shelley was worshipping at the arid shrine of Reason. He was not only out of his element, but in all the wrong elements. His blind rebellion against authority in any form made him deny his native allegiance to Faith. He dashed madly down the blind alleys of Natural Philosophy, the Perfectibility of Man, and Materialism. In fact, the study of Shelley's first twenty-two years reveals the whole dilemma of the artist in the modern world—and the reason I

stress this interpretation is that I feel it offers to anyone caught in this dilemma the most illuminating and heartening object lesson. For, having based his actions on many sterile theories, and having made a mess of his life, Shelley suddenly yielded himself to his true nature and found the path open for his genius.

ELEANOR CARROLL CHILTON.

The Cynical Imperialist

RHODES. By SARAH GERTRUDE MILLIN. (Chatto & Windus. 9s.)
CECIL RHODES. By WILLIAM PLOMER. (Davies. 5s.)
CECIL RHODES. By J. G. LOCKHART. (Duckworth. 2s.)

NO—it is not a Rhodes centenary; but it happens that the publishers of two series of miniature biographies have included Rhodes in their list, and at the same time another publisher has issued a biography of an altogether different order of importance, from the pen of Mrs. Millin. To praise a book which has already been broadcast by the Book Society may be "to paint the lily, to throw a perfume on the violet," which, as Shakespeare goes on to say, "is wasteful and ridiculous excess." But praise it we must, if only by way of gratitude for the pleasure we have had in reading it. Mrs. Millin has, we are told, written novels, and much of the technique of the novelist is apparent in this biography. But the book gains much and loses nothing thereby. It is no "romance" in the weaker sense of the word, being controlled throughout by a rigidly conscientious use of the documentary materials. Here, if anywhere, one is tempted to say, is a final judgment on the Colossus of South Africa, the man of whom Mark Twain said that "when he stood upon the Cape Peninsula his shadow fell on the Zambesi"; a colossus with feet of clay, no doubt, but with his head among the stars. He once told Stead that he would like to annex them and paint them red—or at any rate the planets!

Of the two little books the cheaper is the better. Mr. Plomer is so occupied in painting the warts that he fails to give a clear idea of the countenance they disfigured. Himself an adherent of a school of thought narrowly "post-war" and entirely out of sympathy with imperialism of any sort or kind he interrupts his narrative at every turn with comment always peevish and sometimes silly. There is much to be said against imperialism, as there is much to be said against hunting, but the secretary of the Society for the Abolition of Blood Sports would not be the right man to write a biography of John Peel or Mr. Jorrocks.

Mr. Lockhart's book, on the other hand, is a masterpiece of clear, rapid, and exciting narrative. Those who intend to read Mrs. Millin's book, and start from scratch as regards knowledge of the subject, might well do worse than begin by reading Mr. Lockhart's biographical essay. They will enjoy Mrs. Millin's book all the more in consequence.

Certainly the subject deserves the best that can be done for it. There was, indeed, something Napoleonic about Rhodes: "Idealist in his aims, and cynic in his means," says Mr. Lockhart, quoting Basil Williams, whose book, published some ten years ago, remains the best full-length biography on orthodox lines. "He sometimes thought a little immorality was better than a great deal of trouble," says Mrs. Millin. He relied too much on big cheques, as Napoleon relied too much on big battalions. In both, the Great Man was too often obscured by the Great Brute. Rhodes, like Napoleon, was in a desperate hurry, and with more excuse; for while Napoleon brought his St. Helena upon himself gratuitously at the age of forty-six, Rhodes lived all his life under a medical sentence of early death. To both men was given the vision of an ordered and harmonious society, and both men set themselves to materialize their visions by riding roughshod over every obstacle in their way. They grasped the "sorry scheme of things" and shook it like a kitten; but it was not a kitten, and it scratched them to death. The Russian campaign and the Jameson Raid—absurdly disparate in the physical scale, but both alike examples of the Nemesis which follows hubris in all the Greek tragedies.

Mrs. Millin's irony is profound and never cheaply cynical. Nothing could be better in its own way than her accounts of the tragedy of Lobengula and the farce of the Raid. The former and not the latter was the occasion of Rhodes's worst crime; but the crime was a successful one, and incurred little censure until the Raid, which was "worse than a crime—a blunder." Mrs. Millin brings out, as neither of the little books do, the logical connection between the Rhodesian venture and the Raid. Rhodes, the offspring of Kimberley diamonds, wanted a goldfield for British South Africa. He convinced himself, with his usual simplicity, that there must be gold in Matabeleland. Having failed to find it there he could no longer resist the temptation to paint the Rand red. And, being under medical sentence of death, he could not wait.

D. C. SOMERVELL.

A Forgotten Cromwell

HENRY CROMWELL. By R. W RAMSEY. (Longmans. 15s.)

MR. RAMSEY has done well to rescue the Protector's second son from oblivion, for in more ways than one he was the most attractive member of a by no means attractive family. The author, too, has very wisely let his subject speak as far as possible for himself, with the result that the reader is given an excellent opportunity of looking behind the scenes during the period of the Commonwealth and Protectorate.

Henry Cromwell's chief claim to consideration was his administration of Ireland, which was both successful and just within the limits imposed by his circumstances. How narrow those limits were, in England as well as in Ireland, is clearly shown on every page of this book. The Commonwealth depended upon a small minority for its existence, and it required all the skill of Oliver to keep this oligarchy together. Richard could not bend the bow of Odysseus, the oligarchs fell to quarrelling among themselves, and the inevitable result was that the régime came crashing to the ground. Henry felt the repercussions of all this in Ireland, and his letters, quoted by Mr. Ramsey, are of supreme interest as the judgment of one who was at once implicated and detached.

The man himself comes well out of the author's narrative. His loyalty to his brother prevented him from seizing the Protectorate when he might have had it for the asking, and respect for his father's memory forbade him to anticipate Monk, and so to obtain all the honours which that general subsequently enjoyed. Yet at the Restoration he was unmolested, and he lived to entertain Charles II at his Cambridgeshire home. Few men who have attempted to govern Ireland have had an old age so free from recrimination as Henry Cromwell.

For the rest, we are introduced to more than one man who made his mark under the Restoration. Dr. Petty and General Montagu, the one a friend, and the other the patron, of Pepys, make their appearance, also Ashley Cooper, later the infamous Earl of Shaftesbury, who is shown to have been as treacherous in his dealings with the Cromwells as he was later to prove towards the Stuarts. Lastly, there is Charles II himself, who told Dr. Petty, to whom Henry Cromwell gave a power of attorney after the Restoration, that he esteemed him all the more for his loyalty to his former benefactor. Altogether, not only a very competent piece of scholarship, but also an eminently readable book.

CHARLES PETRIE.

The Truth About the Land

HEDGE-TRIMMINGS. By A. G. STREET. (Faber & Faber. 7s. 6d.)

I WONDER what Smith of Duddingston (whose wise words on agriculture have been quoted to me by farmers in the Lys valley) or Coke of Norfolk or any of the great farmers of the past would say to this book? Not the sort of thing one supposes, probably, for they were all innovators in their day—the history of farming is nothing more than a long list of innovations—and I expect that if these bold spirits could come back to us, they would approve of Mr. Street's attitude to their problems.

For nothing could be further from the sentimental, ignorant view of the land than this collection of 26 sketches and broadcast talks. Mr. Street has faced the music, given up unprofitable corn-growing and set himself to economic dairying. He has grasped the fundamentals of the agricultural problem, so generally missing from political debates, and every other literary and forensic attempt to deal with the matter. The fundamentals are simple. Not the cleverest nor most hard-working farmer on earth can turn his money over twice in a business year. It follows that he must make twenty-five per cent. or be worse off than some follower of the mass production who, because he turns his money over ten times, can afford to do so at two-and-a-half per cent. So Mr. Street milks, makes hay, all by machinery, buys and sells stock and has time to think about what he is doing, and see a little way ahead of him. He says:

"The most valuable crop in the British Isles is GRASS . . . a farmer . . . if he farms mainly for live-stock, will be almost bound to leave his land better than he found it."

Now at last, we are hearing the truth told. Why shouldn't Great Britain, which became a wheat-growing country instead of a pasturing one, about the beginning of the Christian era, go back to grazing? Mr. Street has no illusions:

"This method of farming has destroyed a lot of the charm of my occupation . . ." Of course it has. The privileges of civilisation are weighted with responsibility. The charm of handicraft trade and soldiering has been destroyed by the same fact, for the same reason. Man's real task is no longer the conquest of Nature, but the conquest of machinery. But Mr. Street faces the new terror (there always was a new terror in life for anyone not a coward) even when it appears in the form of the gentleman on page 153, who accosted him,

"You know, you've got it all wrong . . . You are trying to view the question from a purely economic standpoint!"

Mr. Street is out to farm England. I hope we shall let him. He starts at the right end, the British breakfast-table. He knows where it all comes from. He knows how purely money questions will rob the lucky and skilful farmer at the end of a relatively good year. It is to be hoped that those who can at least ease the farmer by legislation will read this book.

R. H. MOTTRAM.

Reverence For Life

MY LIFE AND THOUGHT: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY. By ALBERT SCHWEITZER. (Allen & Unwin. 10s. 6d.)

OF Albert Schweitzer we are obliged to say, "Here is a man." His decisions are carried out. Waking up one morning at twenty-one, this handsome, black-haired, powerfully built German decides before rising to live for scholarship and art till he is thirty and after that for "the direct service of humanity." By thirty he is widely known as a brilliant musician and has the attention of the theological world with his New Testament criticism and arresting reconstruction of the Life of Christ. He is, briefly, a great scholar. Quietly he puts all this aside for the "direct service," which (by another quick decision) is to be that of a medical missionary in the Congo region. He resigns the principalship of a theological college, finishes his medical course, his year in the hospitals, his study of tropical medicine at Paris, and establishes himself and his wife in a hut on the Ogowe river, where instantly, before he can unpack his medical supplies, he is besieged by the sick. They can be brought in canoes from a distance of one to two hundred miles. "The chief diseases I had to deal with were malaria, leprosy, sleeping-sickness, dysentery, frambœsia and phagedenic ulcers." There he has now a hospital (that is to say, a collection of corrugated-iron huts) for 200. The complete giving up of music was involved, so he supposed, but by the gift of a Paris musical society he has a specially constructed piano with pedals like an organ and when any time and energy are left to him the fugues of Bach are heard by the Ogowe. His two volumes on that composer have been translated by Mr. Ernest Newman.

Schweitzer is, of course, a builder with his own hands and also has published a book on organ-construction. Owing to his radical views he went out forbidden to preach, but was soon invited to do so by the missionaries. Besides a doctor of medicine and of theology, he is a doctor of philosophy and has published two weighty volumes on "The Philosophy of Civilization." The central

thought (which he reached as he sat in a barge towed by a small steamer, just as they were making their way through a herd of hippopotami) is "reverence for life." In setting this forth in the present book as the secret of civilization he becomes a prophet.

R. E. HOBART.

Books Recommended

The following is a selected list of books just published or to be published shortly :—

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NOW A STRANGER. HUMBERT WOLFE. (Cassell. 7s. 6d.)
THIS WAS MY WORLD. VISCOUNTESS RHONDDA. (Macmillan. 10s. 6d.)
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ESSAYS AND CRITICISM.

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FICTION.

THE DELICATE FIRS. NAOMI MITCHISON. (Cape. 7s. 6d.)
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INVESTMENT AND INSURANCE SUPPLEMENT

Edited by GEORGE GLASGOW

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ENGLISH REVIEW

INVESTMENT AND INSURANCE SUPPLEMENT

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Notes

The Economist and the Financier

THE pure economist in 1933 sees little sign of improving trade except perhaps in Great Britain. The fact is that the economist's outlook is normally a year behind the financier's. When the Bank of England on February 7, 1929, raised its discount rate from 4½ per cent. to 5½ per cent., the pure financier knew that the slump had started. Yet 1929 economically was more prosperous than 1928. The economic slump did not begin till 1930, and partly resulted from the financial deflation that began the year before. Similarly the financial revival now precedes, and will in part produce, the economic revival. The value of most stock exchange securities is substantially higher to-day than it was a year ago.

Bank Deposits

THE British banks hold in cash at the present time on current or deposit account (at ½ of 1 per cent. interest) the monstrous sum of nearly £2,000,000,000. Money is nearly unlendable. That figure is a measure of the extent to which credit has been deflated. At the end of 1928 the extent to which credit had been inflated was illustrated by the fact that bankers' loans to brokers in New York then amounted to $6,000,000,000. The inflation was higher in New York than in any other capital. The pendulum that started to swing back in the winter of 1928–29 has swung nearly twice as far the other way. There is comfort to be derived from the length to which the present deflation has proceeded.

1933 and 1897

SIR Miles Mattinson the other day committed himself to the laconic view that the present depression is "worse" than was the Baring crisis; yet he showed himself to be not only unruffled, but prepared for the best. It is true to all experience that the good financier

is at heart happier in bad times than in good; for the only certainty in both conditions is an impending change.

An Analogy

A COMMON characteristic of the spring of 1933 and the spring of 1897 was a general incidence of distress and a general sense of political impotence. In 1897 the politicians were equally helpless and equally discredited. And what happened? Disastrous floods in the Danubian countries and in Russia, a disastrous drought in France, a bumper wheat crop in America caused the sale of American wheat in large quantities to Europe. Profits were made, where for five years there had been no profits, and only an increasing agony of ruin. The gates were opened, and there followed a general and prolonged industrial boom throughout the world.

The Debt Deadlock

ON paper at the beginning of March, 1933, the Anglo-American debt problem appeared to be in deadlock; for the American farmer who could not pay his mortgage interest or his existing taxes clearly could not pay the added service of the British debt; and the British taxpayer clearly could not any longer shoulder the whole remaining liability of the war's finance. In such circumstances, however, the distance between March 1 and June 15 took on a magnified aspect; for so many things might happen in the United States that by June 15 the debt might be very dead on both sides of the Atlantic.

The American Budget

THE United States budget is losing ground at the rate of $5,000,000 (say £1,000,000 in gold) a day. By the middle of March the deficit exceeded $1,250,000,000 (say £250,000,000 in gold). The payment by the British Government last December of £19,500,000 in gold had no more effect than to cancel the accruing American deficit of less than three weeks.

The Outlook for Investment Trusts

By Donovan M. Touche

AT a time when a Sino-Japanese war is in process, a new regime of largely unknown character is in the saddle in Germany, and the American banking system is in the throes of a rebirth, it is difficult to take an optimistic view of the outlook for investment trusts. The theory underlying those trusts is that of the widespread distribution of risks, both geographically and otherwise. The world is literally their field, and when distressing tidings crowd in from all its quarters it would appear that the theory operates more for the collection of misfortune than of prosperity. The trust company system has proved its ability successfully to weather the ordinary depressions inherent in the operation of the normal trade cycle, but our present distresses are exceptional and are unanimously labelled as such by financiers of the first water and with the longest memories. Will the trust company system successfully ride the present storm, and what is the outlook?

The immediate outlook is for a continuation of the decline in revenue, whatever may happen to the market quotations of the investments in trust company portfolios. There is an inevitable lag before either the prosperity or depression of trade is reflected in the income of trust companies. During the current year trading companies will be making up their accounts and declaring dividends based on their experiences in the year 1932. These dividends will come into the accounts of trust companies covering the year 1933. These accounts will not be made up and dividends declared thereon until 1934. The dividends to be declared by trust companies in the first half of 1934 must be expected, therefore, to be at lower rates than those about to be declared in the course of the next few months, as trade in 1932 was

on an even lower scale than in 1931. To take, therefore, the most optimistic view, and to assume that trade will stage the beginnings of revival in 1933, the dividends based on such increased trade will only reach the coffers of the trust companies in the course of 1934 and affect the dividends to be declared early in 1935. Nor does there seem much to be hoped for from sources other than dividends from shareholdings, as further defaults on foreign government bonds appear more probable than resumption of debt service. There appears, therefore, to be little hurry for the private investor to buy into the equity stocks of trust companies.

In addition to suffering in revenue from the trade depression, trust companies are also suffering in an increasing measure from a further consequence of the trade depression. This is the falling interest rates arising from the glut of idle money which cannot find profitable employment in normal trading outlets, owing to the very reduced volume of trade passing and the lower price level at which it has to be financed. Good 6 per cent. to 7 per cent. securities are in process of being paid off and refunded on a 4½ per cent. to 5 per cent. basis, and trust companies are in the position of having to accept the lower rate of interest offered or competing with the crowd in the search for good investments showing a higher yield. The scarcity of such investments giving a good return with reasonable security under present calamitous conditions needs no stressing. Against this factor trust companies will no doubt be able to raise money on their own debentures at rates approximating to 4 per cent., as compared with the 5 per cent. rate which prevailed recently, but this will not help many companies, as established trusts have in many cases already issued debentures up to the limit of their borrowing powers.

The immediate outlook for investment trusts is consequently a lean one. What, then, of the further view? This view is necessarily bound up with the prospects of

world recovery. What, then, is the prime cause which has struck so heavily at world prosperity and which has to be removed? The historian of the future may well diagnose the American Tariff of 1922 as the primary factor in the great world disorder. Europe, unable to sell her goods in America, became unable to buy from America except by borrowing. But this was only postponing the inevitable reckoning, and once America became unwilling to lend further, Europe was no longer able to buy her food and raw materials at satisfactory prices. Commodity prices fell and all primary producers, including the American farmer, became impoverished. The industrial areas, which in turn depend on the exchange of their products with those of the primary producer, also suffered impoverishment. The astronomical inter-governmental debts bequeathed by the War became an intolerable burden owing to the fall in the price level. Tariff reprisals, quota and exchange restrictions followed, intensifying the evil, but were the consequences and not the cause of the original trouble. Trade cannot circulate with normal health as long as its channels are choked by every device which governmental interference can effect. The world does at last appear to be making considerable progress towards shaking itself free of reparations and war debts, but little enough in the direction of tariff reductions. Any progress has been rather in the reverse direction. National incomes have fallen with declining trade and commodity prices, with the result that most national, and many private, budgets are hopelessly unbalanced. The expense of many unwise experiments in Socialism has become an intolerable burden necessitating the imposition of taxation on a scale that destroys enterprise and inhibits recovery.

The catalogue of our troubles is indeed appalling. Trust company managements will, however, strive to overcome all difficulties. The art of investment is never easy. When conditions appear so, they are often most treacherous. If the investment of capital now seems a problem

of the greatest difficulty, it surely contains opportunities of rich reward should we be really skating over the bottom of an unusually deep depression.

The Outlook for Insurance Shares

By Donald S. Savory

THERE are only 35 insurance company shares quoted in the official list, and of these the shares of five rarely change hands. The Actuaries' Investment index, including companies whose equity shares have a market capitalization of over £2,000,000, includes the shares of only 24 companies. Yet this small group of companies, with their subsidiaries, collect every year a Fire premium income of some £50,000,000, a somewhat larger Accident and General premium income, a Marine premium income of more than £10,000,000 and a Life premium income of more than £70,000,000. Those companies are responsible for total funds of over £900,000,000, they operate in all parts of the world, and their business in one way or another touches the lives of most civilized people, and enters into almost every commercial transaction. In 1931, the chairman of one of the big companies said: "In 96 countries we maintain 117 branch offices, supported by over 100,000 agencies, issuing fifty major classes of policy printed in one or other of 16 different languages."

Insurance itself is one of the oldest forms of business activity; the earliest known contract of insurance is dated October 23, 1347, and purports to insure a cargo from Genoa to Majorca by the ship *Santa Clara*. One of the companies whose shares are to-day dealt in on the Stock Exchange was founded in 1710, two others in

1720, and most of the others are over 50, many of them over 100, years old.

The present purpose is to examine the merits of insurance shares as investments, the present position of the companies, and their prospects for the immediate future.

As regards the first of these questions, it would be difficult to find any form of investment that has yielded such satisfactory returns to shareholders over the last twenty to thirty years.

A few examples may be of interest: Since 1910 the dividend on Alliance has risen from 12s. to 18s., and the current price of 23¾ compares with a highest in that year of 13⅜. In the same time the dividend on Commercial Unions has risen from 3s. free of tax to 20s. 6d. less tax, on London and Lancashires from the equivalent of 3s. 7d. to 20s., on North British and Mercantiles from 8s. to 23s., and current prices of 22½, 28¾ and 35¼, respectively, compare with highest prices of 3⅝, 5 1/16, and 8 5/16 for the equivalent shares in 1910. Even more striking has been the record of the General Accident; so recently as 1915 no dividend was paid and the highest price of that year was 19s.; to-day the Corporation is paying dividends of 14s. a share, and the shares stand at £15 15s. These astonishing results are not due to the inherent profitableness of insurance as a business—the total disappearance of the majority of the companies formed within the last thirty years shows that insurance is no Tom Tiddler's ground—but to exceptionally able management combined with a most conservative financial policy.

In relation to the liabilities assumed, underwriting profits are indeed small; for 1931 the profit on fire insurance averaged only 5·12 per cent. and on accident and general insurance 2·85 per cent. of the premiums. It has, however, been the policy of British insurance companies for many years to retain practically the whole of their underwriting profits and only to distribute in dividends the interest earned on their accumulated

reserves. As a result of this policy the present position of the British companies is one of great financial strength.

It is always more difficult—and less wise—to attempt to write about the future than to deal with the present or the past. It does, however, seem clear that the future prosperity of insurance companies must be bound up with the future prosperity of the world as a whole, and not merely with that of this country. Mr. W. H. Walker, in his well-known paper on the "Sphere of British Insurance Companies in the Foreign Field," estimated that the premium income of a composite office would be derived roughly as to 25 per cent. from home business, as to 50 per cent. from the United States, 5 per cent. from Canada and 20 per cent. from other foreign countries. Clearly, therefore, with world trade at the lowest level for more than a decade, with more than one-fifth of the world's shipping laid up, with widespread financial trouble in the United States, and to a lesser extent in Canada, with currency restrictions in so many countries, with defaults on many securities and reduction of interest on others, the lot of the general manager of such a world-wide organization as a British composite insurance company is no enviable one. The companies have also suffered for many years from increasingly restrictive foreign legislation; where this does not take the form of excluding British companies altogether, it lowers their profit-earning powers by the imposition of taxation, in many cases both heavy and discriminatory, and by calling for deposits which must be invested in local securities, thus exposing the companies to loss of both interest and capital through exchange fluctuations, if not through actual default. A falling premium income leads to a rise in expense ratio; economic distress in a country often leads to an increase in fire, burglary and accident claims; both factors tend to reduce profit margins. A falling premium income, if not counterbalanced by underwriting profits, leads to a decline in reserves, and when this is accompanied by

lower interest rates, interest income suffers a twofold reduction.

These adverse factors are offset by the recent halt in the expansion of premium income, which has caused managements to concentrate more and more on the reduction of expenses. The serious effect of the American crisis on many of the leading American companies has increased the competitive power of the British companies which had pursued a more conservative financial policy, and has also led to many much needed increases in rates.

The very severity of the present crisis should lead to recognition of the fact that a too severely nationalistic policy towards insurance is harmful and that a wider distribution of insurable risks is essential. Even in so difficult a year as 1931 reasonably satisfactory profits were earned, and only one composite insurance office reduced its dividend, as against two that gave increases, and the results of 1932 seem likely on the whole to show but little variation as compared with those of 1931.

The Future of Invested Capital

By George Glasgow

WHAT, if any, are the changed conditions that will face the investor in the future? The chief and most obvious change has already resulted in the formulation of a new standard and a new technique of investment; the change, namely, in the value of money itself. When last summer the British Government assured the success of the conversion of the biggest governmental obligation known to financial history from a 5 per cent. to a 3½ per cent. interest basis, it inevitably introduced a new era in financial investment. The era

1914–28 was thereby clinched as an era of the past. During the decade that preceded the war the level of British Governmental credit was fixed by the 2½ per cent. Consolidated Stock which in those ten years often stood at as much as 113 in the market. The summer of 1914 as effectively ended one financial era as the summer of 1932 ended another. The war had the effect of doubling the yield obtainable on a British Government security, for the elementary reason that that Government had to offer a rapidly increasing rate of interest to attract the vast sums of money it wanted.

In August, 1914, those whose business it was to advise on the future of invested capital and who did their business well, advised the immediate sale of 2½ per cent. Consols; for the new values gradually introduced under the exigencies of the war had the effect of halving the capital of those who before the war had invested (as they thought) for " safety first " in the highest British Government security. The post-1914 era of doubled yield on invested capital and therefore of halved pre-war capital lasted till the beginning of 1929, its life being thus extended by the post-war world-wide demand for capital to replace the devastated properties of every kind. As was almost inevitable in so huge a movement of capital, " confidence " overstepped itself, and the balloon was dangerously inflated. It was punctured in February, 1929, and deflated flat in October, 1929. The 1914–28 balloon was partly due to the absurd pressure of inter-governmental political war debt. That factor is now, or soon will be, removed, and the forces gathering for the new inflation are to that extent modified. The three eras—pre-war, post-war and post-1932—are simply and symptomatically contrasted by the comparative measure of a 2½ per cent., a 5 per cent. and a 3½ per cent. level respectively in British Government credit; for, in the third as in the second and in the first, of those eras the British Government equally, as it were, has set the pace.

What then is the practical deduction applicable to the

new investment era now beginning? The deduction is obvious. Just as those who before the war had invested their capital with a gilded edge and then slept on it, found that as a result of the war they had lost half of their capital because interest rates had been doubled, so those who after the war similarly gilded their capital and slept on it found after 1932 that their income had been reduced by one-third. Theoretically their capital ought by the same token to have been increased by one-third. Actually only those reaped that capital harvest who before June 30, 1932, foresaw the inevitability of a conversion scheme and transferred their funds into long-dated British Government, or other comparable, securities. There were those who in fact did reap the capital harvest. The feature, therefore, of the investment era now begun is a retreat to nearly the same level as that of the pre-war era.

Already the process is active, and providing its logical results. Those concerns which contracted into debenture borrowings or other "prior charges" on the post-war basis of roughly 5 per cent., and whose resultant liabilities are now terminable, have in most cases already terminated them and substituted (for instance) new debentures or debenture stock bearing 4½ per cent. or 4 per cent. interest. Those concerns, on the other hand, which incurred long-dated 5 per cent. obligations in the post-war period find themselves hoist with their own petard. The investor whose holding of 5 per cent. prior charges has been thus converted loses what the company gains: a paradox that needs no further explanation. Another effect of the same process is that those pre-war gilded sleepers who grimly continued to sleep on their losses from 1914 to 1932 have automatically now recovered half of their losses; for 2½ per cent. Consols are now worth 50 per cent. more than they were worth in 1928.

The investor who now looks ahead and has to decide how best his capital is to be employed in the new era will inevitably have to divide his attention between those second-rate prior-charges which have not reacted to the

new interest level (the first-rate prior charges having already risen to possibly the full new height) and first rate "equities." For the obvious reason good equities tend in the cheap money epochs such as the pre-1914 and the post-1932, to be intrinsically more valuable than in the comparatively dear money epochs or epochs of big inflation such as that of 1914–29.

Market Prospects

By "Logistes"

THE gilt edged market has already been driven to high levels by a general distrust of other markets. At the moment of writing gold shares are at the top of a boom, and before this supplement sees the light they may have fallen. Insurance shares and bank shares are dear enough, if not too dear. Good debenture and preference stocks in most markets are at least not undervalued and are scarce to buyers. Investment trust company ordinary stocks may fall further if the prevailing world chaos gets worse. Many investors who have lately had debentures and other maturing securities refunded to them are at a loss to know what to do with the money. A vast amount of money lies stagnant and unproductive on bank deposit. A somewhat general view is taken that capital in present circumstances is to be treated, not on the criterion of its probable interest yield in the next few years, but on the criterion of its probable capital security. The only bright spot is Great Britain, where the brightness is merely that of a faint light in surrounding darkness and cannot long avail in isolation.

None the less, shrewd people are investing capital in the City of London. What are the markets they choose?

Those who invest in investment trust company equity stocks, so far as their criteria are concerned, may be taken as typical of good investors in general.

The three main criteria now being applied to such stocks are these: (1) The relative soundness of the various managements as illuminated by results during the slump; (2) the proportion of equities to bonds and preference stocks in the companies' portfolios; and (3) the amount of the companies' own prior charges in proportion to their own equity capital, and the average liability thereon.

As for No. (1). It is unnecessary to point the distinctions, and would be distasteful, because a white list implies a black list. The records speak for themselves. As for (2), it is roughly the case that the companies which

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have exceeded the conventional 25 per cent. as the proportion of their equities have suffered more sharply from the fall in revenue than the others; but conversely and by the same process they are likely to recover more quickly when trade revives.

The third point is by far the most important. In the new investment conditions the average yield on a mixed portfolio constituted as to 50 per cent. in bonds, 25 per cent. in preference stocks and 25 per cent. in equities is likely to be about 4½ per cent., certainly not more than 5 per cent. Up to 1929 the corresponding figure was 6 per cent. Between 1919 and 1928 therefore investment companies could issue debenture stocks at par with an interest liability of 5 per cent. with some confidence that there would be a surplus of about 1 per cent. to strengthen the equity. Similarly, initial share capital subscribed in that period could be split 60 : 40, and the preference stock given 5 per cent. in dividend, the ordinary stock standing to benefit by the surplus of about 1 per cent. From now onwards the companies which were launched on such a basis will not only not benefit by their prior charges but will probably be handicapped by them. The handicap can be mitigated by hard work and shrewd management. The point can be simply illustrated. A typical post-war company is thus capitalised :—

Debenture.	Preference.	Ordinary.
£500,000 (5%)	£300,000 (5%)	£200,000

The working basis of a 6 per cent. yield on invested funds arithmetically implied an initial earning power of 10 per cent. for the ordinary stock. From now onwards a working basis of an average 4½ per cent. yield on invested funds will imply an earning power of only 2½ per cent. for that same ordinary stock, for whereas before 1929 a surplus from the prior stocks was passed on to the benefit of the ordinary stock, after 1932 there is a deficiency on the prior stocks to be made good at the expense of the ordinary stock; and the combined prior stocks in the

case here typified are four times greater in amount than the ordinary stock.

It follows that the stocks now to be chosen by the wise investor are those of companies which, in addition to proved good management (1) have the smallest issued amount of prior charges and (2) have an average liability of not more than 4½ per cent. on those prior charges. Before 1929 the greater the prior charges, the more prosperous the company; after 1932, the greater the prior charges, the less prosperous the company. That is only one aspect of the general reversal of investment technique caused by the new conditions.

Notes on New Forms of Insurance Business

ALTHOUGH there is little that is essentially new in the principles of insurance business, the financial slump and consequent social and political unrest have led to the launching of certain variations and adaptations.

The SCOTTISH UNION AND NATIONAL INSURANCE COMPANY has issued a life policy that has appealed especially to financiers. It insures against death during a fixed short period for a large sum at a small premium; for instance a man of about 40 can insure his life for £10,000 in the event of death during the following ten years for an annual premium of about £150, there being no other value attaching to the policy. Its attraction is to bridge the uncertainties attending a bad financial period and to preclude the necessity of liquidating a small estate at a time of depressed markets.

The same company has issued new policies for the insurance of motor cars, motor cycles and commercial motor vehicles to cover comprehensive risks and to

include the requirements of Part II of the Road Traffic Act 1930 and Motor Vehicles and Road Traffic Act (Northern Ireland), 1930.

Several companies have issued a policy of which the "Protector" Policy of the SUN LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY is typical. It is designed to safeguard a young married man against the risk of leaving a destitute wife and family during the first twenty years of his married life; the period when he is least likely to have made provision against such a contingency. A man of 30, for instance, for a premium of £20 12s. 6d. per annum during those twenty years assures in the event of his death within the twenty years (*a*) an immediate cash payment of £250, (*b*) an annual income of £150 during the remainder of the twenty years, and (*c*) at the end of the twenty years a further sum of £750 in cash. In the event of his surviving the twenty years, a cash sum of £1,000 is payable on his death.

The YORKSHIRE INSURANCE COMPANY'S "Security" Policy illustrates a variation in detail of the like policy. A man of 30 for a premium of £24 1s. 8d. for twenty years and of £18 1s. 8d. for the following fifteen years assures: (1) in the event of death within twenty years, (*a*) an immediate cash payment of £250, (*b*) an annuity of £156 for the rest of the term, and (*c*) a further cash payment of £750 at the end thereof; and (2) in the event of death after the twenty years £1,000.

The LEGAL AND GENERAL ASSURANCE SOCIETY'S "Safeguard" Policy reveals a further variation in the same type. A man of 30 for an annual premium of £20 14s. 0d. through twenty years can assure (1) an annuity of £156 in the event of death within the twenty years, (2) a cash payment of £1,000 at the end of those twenty years, or alternatively on his death at any later time. The scheme is not restricted to twenty year periods, but can be adjusted for longer or shorter periods.

The ALLIANCE ASSURANCE COMPANY'S "Family Protection" Policy has been extended by the addition of a new Optional Additional Benefit, whereby, for a small additional premium, if the life assured dies after the first twenty years, there will be added to the lump sum benefit a special bonus exactly equal to the whole of the amount that has been paid under the policy in excess of the premium for a corresponding ordinary Whole of Life policy.

The COMMERCIAL UNION ASSURANCE COMPANY has launched three new policies: (1) For an annual premium of 10s. legal liability up to £5,000 is ensured against accidents caused to third parties; (2) for a premium of 2s. per cent. per £1,000 of the yearly amount carried, cash lost in transit or by hold-up robbery is ensured. The premium for the corresponding risk indoors is 5s. per cent., the rate being reduced for large amounts; (3) A Family Protection policy roughly on the scale of the Sun Life "Protector" policy.

The NORTH BRITISH AND MERCANTILE INSURANCE COMPANY'S "Benedict's" Policy is novel in the sense that it provides whole life assurance with profits at the "whole life" premium, but gives an opportunity after five years (when resources may be greater) to change the policy to endowment assurance with profits. The "Special Income Policy" provides for family income in the event of a man's early death on the general lines described above.

The most recently issued policy of the PRUDENDIAL ASSURANCE COMPANY is the "Heritage Endowment," the object of which is to combine income benefits in the event of early death with a guaranteed income at maturity. The financial slump has given a big fillip to this company's Endowment Assurances, which provide a guaranteed bonus of 3 per cent. per annum with the option of taking an annuity in lieu of the sum assured at maturity.

The PEARL ASSURANCE COMPANY'S Suc-

cessive Endowment Scheme and the "Family First" policy ingeniously combine the benefits of the "family" type of policy with continuing life assurance benefits.

The GENERAL ACCIDENT FIRE AND LIFE ASSURANCE CORPORATION has issued a new policy for comprehensive insurance (the "Office Comprehensive Insurance") against most contingencies that might befall an office organization, including the theft of cash from messengers.

Although the EAGLE STAR AND BRITISH DOMINIONS INSURANCE COMPANY has issued nothing actually new, the prevailing conditions have created a keener appreciation of some of its existing policies. The chief are the "All-in" policy for householders and house owners of which a feature is a renewal free of premium every sixth year if no claims have been made in the preceding five years; the House Purchase Policy combined with Life Assurance; and the Family Policy assuring both a capital sum and an income for a period of years.

The GUARDIAN ASSURANCE COMPANY'S "Adaptable Policy," issued within the last two years, combines life with endowment insurance by giving to a young man a substantial life policy at a small premium with the option of converting into an endowment policy after five years, when his resources may be bigger.

The ROYAL EXCHANGE ASSURANCE has a "young man's" policy comparable to the Guardians' "adaptable" policy, and a twenty-year "family" policy of the type already described, with the added attraction of a cash payment, in the event of the life's survival, at the end of the twenty years as well as the £1,000 payment on his death.

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Club Gossip

By Quid Nunc

THE problem of how to spend the summer holidays is now exercising many people, old and young. In these days of quick travel, whether by land, sea or air, what was once an impossible dream for a holiday is now not only practical, but verging towards the commonplace. I am graphically reminded of this by one of our leading garage proprietors who does a big holiday business. He said what was quite true, and will be even more evident each coming year, that road and rail had now to contend with a new rival in the air. The short-distance journey by aeroplane is still an innovation, but it is the beginning of a more general use of aeroplanes throughout the country.

* * *

THIS year, for example, will see many people using cross-country planes where a year ago either the train or motor was used. As an illustration take the case of South Wales. Visitors from there to Somerset, North and South Devon, Cornwall and *vice versa* have to travel *via* the Severn Tunnel, by road or rail, a matter of over an hundred miles or more, and into Cornwall of two hundred. Yet on any clear day standing on Exmoor, above Porlock, it is quite possible to see with the naked eye the coast towns of South Wales and the hills beyond. As the crow flies it is only a matter of some 25 to 30 miles across the Bristol Channel. Now instead of the best part of a day to travel from Swansea to Minehead, Exeter, Torquay and Plymouth, the journey can be done by air in minutes. The actual crossing from Swansea to Exmoor—where there are some

1862 - 1933

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fine landing-places if required—takes less than half an hour. And what is happening in the South-west of England is taking place in a number of places to which road and rail facilities are difficult or roundabout.

* * *

AND there is, too, a spirit of adventure abroad. Many want to get out of the country altogether for their holidays and see new lands of which they have only heard. Such an opportunity is presented this year. The Canadian Pacific are running wonderful holiday tours to Canada and the States and cruises to the Mediterranean, Spain and Norway, and the "Land of the Midnight Sun." To those who want to get off the beaten track let me commend a fortnight's camp on one of the Thirty Thousand Islands in the St. Lawrence and in the Georgian Bay of Lake Huron. To sample "the feel" of a big muskellonge or bass would be an experience a Thames fisherman who declared he had met a monster hucken would not be able to match.

* * *

EVERYONE who has been to Canada knows that only an actual visit can give the real idea of what big country and big spaces look like. Let me commend as a morning tonic to the visitor to Quebec, the view from the Chateau Frontenac looking down the St. Lawrence to the Laurentian Hills. The mind will then grasp at once on what a big scale Canada is laid out.

* * *

MANY club friends are often seeking to try their skill on some new golf course. Why not one in Canada? Change of air and scenery brings zest to a golfer which the stay-at-home can never feel. And if another thrill is needed, a flight by air over the vast forests of Ontario might be arranged, and a bird's-eye picture of rivers, lakes, forests, mountains and valleys obtained of some of the most wonderful country

in the world. And a night or two in the camp of a forest fire-ranger would complete an experience never to be forgotten.

* * *

THE Royal Scots will be presenting the Historical piece at the Royal Tournament, Olympia, a fitting tribute to the Regiment which has completed the 300th year of its existence and which is the oldest unit in the British Army. There is good reason to believe that the Royal Scots are centuries older than 300 years, and that they can trace their ancestry as a fighting force back to the eleventh century, which would make them " the oldest Regiment in the world." Their existence coincides with the Rise of the British Empire, and what the Nation owes to the Royal Scots and the other early Regiments of the British Army is incalculable. I hope every schoolboy in the country will be taught their history during the time the Tournament is in progress.

* * *

THERE is one remarkable feature about the Regiment. For many years they had only one piper, and it was not until 1882 that five were allowed them by theWar Office, provided they were not made a public charge on the Exchequer. George III and Queen Victoria were both averse to any increase in the number of pipers, so perhaps the King's gift to the Regiment of the pipers to wear the Royal Stuart tartan can be interpreted as a compensation for the stubbornness of the War Office for so long. As The Royal Regiment (the article with a capital) they have a privilege in nomenclature no other unit possesses, for while a number of units are allowed to prefix the title " Royal," there is only one Regiment that can term itself to be " The Royal Regiment."

* * *

FEW know accurately why the Royal Scots were nicknamed " Pontius Pilate's Bodyguard." It was in 1635 when with the oldest French unit, the Regiment of Picardy, they formed part of the forces of Cardinal de la Valette in the campaign against Germany. Because in the ranks of the Royal Scots there were some members of the Old Scottish Archer Guard, the Scots were given pride of place in the line, since the Scottish Archer Guards of France had had a history second to no unit in the French Army. The French Regiment, very jealous of the Scots, dubbed them " Pontius Pilate's Guards," a name which has stuck to them down the centuries.

* * *

THE time when the May-fly makes its appearance is very much regulated by season. It generally shows up in the third week of May, but the grand show is advanced or hindered according to the earliness or lateness of summer heats. Trout seek the fly instinctively, not only because they consider it a luxury, but it is also clearly of great medicinal value to them. After gorging themselves with the fly, they lose their emaciated winter condition at once, and begin to thrive at great speed. One effect of the fly as a food is that the muscles of the fish become tinged with red blood and their vigour and strength so much increased that a pound trout may well be mistaken for a three pound one. Perhaps that is one reason why fishing tales developed. I have seen a 10 oz. trout fight as hard as a two-pounder after the May fly had been on the water, and I have had

(*Continued overleaf*)

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Club Gossip—*continued.*

a pound and a half trout run so far that he ran all the line out.

* * *

A GREAT deal of interest has been taken in the book dealing with "The Orders, Decorations and Medals of the World," by Captain Arthur Jocelyn, which is being published in four volumes by Messrs. Ivor Nicholson and Watson at the cost of £45 10s. per set and £75 per set. Of the former the edition is limited to 50 copies, of the latter to only 35 copies. Sixty-seven States of the world are represented and the letterpress appears in four languages, English, French, German and Spanish, while over three thousand ribbons are represented in life-size, coloured and embossed, and of the most delicate sheen and watering. Each Order and Medal has its complete history and a mine of information; the result of years of research is made available for the student and connoisseur and the librarian. Not for a long time have there been more vacancies in the General Officers' list than at present. Four new full Generals will shortly be made with corresponding promotions all down the line. If only some more of our senior Generals who have had their full share of the Army's good posts were now to retire and take a leaf out of the books of the Navy and Air Force, where several distinguished officers have voluntarily retired recently to give others a chance, then other Army officers with great experience would have a chance of promotion.

IT is interesting to note how the modern demand for really effective and inexpensive family provision is met by the "Security" policy issued by the Yorkshire Insurance Company. It provides a substantial sum down in the event of death within 20 years, a tax-free quarterly income until 20 years from the original date when the policy expires, and then a further capital sum down.

For a small extra charge it can be arranged that premiums will cease and the policy-holder be paid a monthly cash income during disability after three months continuous illness. All premiums cease at age 65 in any event, the policy-holder, however, remaining fully assured for the amount of his contract at death.

* * *

Correspondence

Yugoslavia

To the Editor of THE ENGLISH REVIEW.

SIR,—Will you allow me, as an Englishwoman who has lived for nine years in Belgrade, to protest against the glaringly false statements made by Mr. Herbert Vivian in his article, "Jugoslavia"? These protests have nothing to do with politics or propaganda, but are made for the sake of truth. My letter would be too long, however, if I tried to deal with more than four or five of the untrue statements.

(1) "Peter Karageorgevitch . . . sat with the Russian Minister . . . watching through the blinds."

Prince Peter was still in Geneva when King Alexander and Queen Draga were assassinated in Belgrade.

(2) "Who was Karageorgevitch? A gipsy family . . . (who) had no surname."

This family had the ordinary Serbian surname of Petrovitch, which means "Son of Peter." "Kara" is Turkish for "black," and George Petrovitch, like a good many other Serbs, had a dark complexion and black eyes. He became distinguished as a leader, and his descendants preferred to drop "Petrovitch" and take their name from him.

He lived in rough times, but he cannot be called "a parricide." The truth is, that when he and his family and adherents were fleeing from the Turks, he allowed a friend to shoot his father because the old man declared he could go no further.

(3) "Alexander Karageorgevitch overthrew the constitution, and proclaimed a military dictatorship. . . . The edict had gone forth that Croatia must cease to exist as a nation. The display of her flag or coat of arms . . . was punished as high treason."

[*Continued on page* xiii.

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SCOTLAND—(*continued*).

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Mr. Vivian evidently does not know that the Croats admire King Alexander, approved the dictatorship, and regretted its ending. Crotia was not an independent nation before the war: she was an Austrian province. Serbia, Slovenia, and she are exactly in the same position now. None of the three is allowed to use her old flag—neither Serb, nor Croat, nor Slovene. All of them (and they are all of the Southern Slav race, brothers by blood) are asked to use the Jugoslav flag, which represents all three. In the same way the National Anthem of Jugoslavia is made up of three extracts from the former three National Anthems of Serbia, Croatia, and Slovenia.

(4) "No Croatian's life is safe."

This statement is simply absurd. We have paid three visits to Zagreb during the winter, and can assure you that the Croats are living there quite safely and comfortably—considering that there is a "world crisis!"

(5) "Belgrade has never recovered from the war, and is but a shadow of her former beautiful self."

This statement is wildly grotesque. Belgrade before the war was a town of 80,000 people: now her population is nearly 300,000. Her streets have been re-paved, her parks increased in number and well laid out, her shops have multiplied, her squalid corners are being cleared out, and thousands of new buildings—Ministries, houses, villas, blocks of residential flats—have sprung up in every direction. Her streets are plentifully supplied with tram-cars, autobuses, and taxis: to say nothing of private motors, some of them very opulent-looking.

It is an unenviable responsibility nowadays to be the author of falsehoods or inaccuracies about any nation.

Your obedient servant,
K. M. SITTERS.

Dobračina ulica II, Belgrade, Jugoslavia.
March 18th, 1933.

Mr. Vivian sends the following comments on our correspondent's letter:—

"(1) Peter Karageorgevitch came specially from Geneva to attend the murders of King Alexander and Queen Draga, returning to await the summons of the assassins to wear his blood-stained crown. This has frequently been published by responsible persons, but never hitherto denied.

"(2) Kara George is not cleared of the charge of parricide by an assertion, against all historical evidence, that he did not commit the crime himself. I note that the charge of fratricide is not denied.

"(3) I certainly do not know that the Croats admire Alexander Karageorgevitch, approved his dictatorship, and regretted its ending. Croatia used to possess its own Kings, was never a "province" of Austria, and voluntarily accepted a union with the Empire. Pray when did the Karageorgevitch dictatorship end? It was not ended by the erection of a mock parliament, for which voters are allowed to vote only for supporters of the government."

[Mr. Vivian's other statements that "no Croatian's life is safe" and that Belgrade is but "a shadow of her former beautiful self" are not questions of fact, but of the interpretation of rhetorical phrases. Safety is a question of degree and beauty a question of taste. No pedestrian's life is safe in London to-day, but that does not mean that the majority of people do not live safely and comfortably in another sense of the same word.—*Editor*, E.R.]

[*Continued overleaf.*

In Defence of Poland

To the Editor of THE ENGLISH REVIEW.

SIR,—In the year 1927 an English writer, "Augur," suggested, as a joke, that the question of Prussia's claim to the Polish province of Pomorze should be settled by an exchange of Pomorze and Danzig against East Prussia and Konigsberg; an arrangement which would abolish what the Germans, for purposes of propaganda, call the "Polish Corridor." The *Berliner Tageblatt* (of September 7, 1927) took the suggestion seriously, and missed the joke. Other papers followed suit.

The suggestion made in your editorial notes in the April number is, apparently, that Poland should give up her province of Pomorze and her port of Gdynia in exchange for—Memel. This time it is possible that even the Prussians will see the joke; it is not a new one.

The argument, of course, is that a robber, detected in his crime and compelled to restore his loot, has a perfect right, after a while, to demand the loot back; especially if he offers the householder something belonging to someone else.

What more reasonable than that a country which has been the victim of a campaign designed to exterminate it should be penalized for its misfortune by the author of that campaign? What more natural than that Poland should be deprived of the estuary and mouth of the river which is Polish from source to sea, which is her backbone, which carries upon it her history, and upon which stand her ancient and her modern capitals? What more just than that the overwhelmingly Polish population of a territory more than half the size of Belgium, a population which returned Poles to the Reich with maddening persistence during the German occupation, should be handed over once more to the Reich? What more logical than that the railway network and the inland waterway connections of the Danzig hinterland should be taken out of the control of the people who have, in spite of every form of opposition, quadrupled the traffic of the port in a dozen years?

In fact, now I come to think of it, why not let Poland be partitioned again? Why stop at a province or a port? Why lay ourselves open to the jibe that we are prevented from going the whole hog by some remnant of a lingering regard for those old-fashioned superstitions, justice and honour?

I am, Sir,
Yours faithfully,
J. B. MORTON.

Sir Charles Petrie writes:—

I am afraid that Mr. Morton's wholly admirable enthusiasm for Poland has led him to put on the paragraph in question a construction which it will not bear. There was no suggestion of the spoliation of Poland, but rather a strengthening of that Power both territorially and by the removal of German hostility. Surely Mr. Morton must realize that whether he and I like it or not the present position cannot be maintained much longer, and the question is not whether Poland is or is not to retain the Corridor, but rather whether she is to have it taken from her by force and without compensation, or whether she will cede it for a *quid pro quo* elsewhere. Let the Poles follow the example of Mr. Morton's hero, John Sobieski, and realize that it may pay them best to be good Europeans.